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FROM THE

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IOHANNIS WYCLIF

TRACTATUS
DE BLASPHEMIA.

NOW FIRST EDITED FROM THE VIENNA MS. 4514.

WITH CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

BY

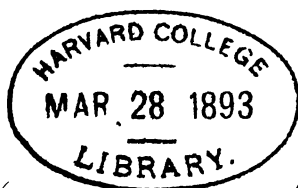
MICHAEL HENRY DZIEWICKI.

LONDON.

PUBLISHED FOR THE WYCLIF SOCIETY BY TRÜBNER & CO.
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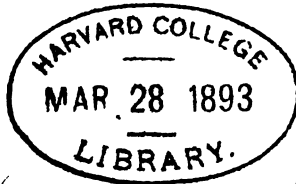
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The Society's Future Publications will be :—

1891. Wyclif's *Questiones* and *De Ente predicamentali*, edited by Dr. R. Beer.
1892. Wyclif's *De Eucharistia*, edited by Prof. J. Loserth, Ph.D.
1893. Wyclif's *De Blasphemia*, edited by M. H. Dziewicki.
Wyclif's *De Simonia*, edited by Dr. Herzberg-Fränkcl. (*Text all set*).
Wyclif's *Opus Evangelicum*, edited by Prof. J. Loserth, Ph.D. (*At press.*)
Wyclif's *Logica*, et *Logice Continuatio*, edited by M. H. Dziewicki.
Wyclif's *De Ente*, edited by M. H. Dziewicki.
Wyclif's *De Mandatis Divinis*, edited by F. D. Matthew.
,, *De Statu Innocentie*, edited by F. D. Mathew.
,, *De Civili Dominio*, Lib. II., edited by R. L. Poole, M.A., Ph.D.
,, *De Veritate S. Scripturæ*, edited by Dr. R. Buddensieg.
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,, *Miscellanies I.*, edited by the Rev. H. Schnabel, Dresden (Nos. 54-61 in Shirley's Catalogue).
,, *Miscellanies II.*, edited by C. Sayle, B.A. (Nos. 43, 44, 49, 56, 68, 77, 95, in Shirley's Catalogue).
,, *De Actibus Animæ*, edited by M. H. Dziewicki.
,, *Miscellaneous Philosophical Works*, edited by M. H. Dziewicki.
And the rest of Wyclif's Latin Works.

* The very heavy outlay for copying in these years,—£295—made the issue of more volumes in them impossible.

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✂ The Society's Issues for 1891, 1892, and 1893, are now ready for issue to those Members who will pay their Subscriptions for those years. The Subscription for 1891 became due on Jan. 1, and should be paid at once to the Hon. Sec., J. W. STANDERWICK, Esq., GENERAL POST OFFICE, LONDON, E.C. Cheques to be crost, 'London and County Bank.'

The Wyclif Society.

Ninth Report of the Executive Committee, for 1891.
(May, 1891.)

The Committee again appeal urgently to Members to pay *Advance-Subscriptions*, and so enable the Society's work to be kept going. If every Member would but pay five years' money in advance, all would come right.

The books for 1891 (Dr. Beer's edition of *De Ente Predicamentali*, and *XIII Quaestiones Logicae*), 1892 (Prof. Loserth's edition of *De Eucharistia*), and 1893 (Mr. Dziewicki's edition of *De Blasphemia*), are now in the binders' hands, ready for issue to Members who will pay their Subscriptions for those years.

The books for 1894 (Mr. Dziewicki's edition of *Logica* and *Logicae Continuatio*, Wyclif's most generally interesting work), and 1895 and 1896 (Prof. Loserth's edition of *Opus Evangelicum*, a commentary on the Sermon on the Mount, two volumes), are now at press, and will be ready in 1891 or early in 1892.

Members will therefore see how important it is that *Five Years' Advance-Subscriptions* should be sent at once in order that all the work in hand may be provided for, and the debt

paid which has been incurred for copying the treatises to be produced in these years. These copying charges have been taken from the income of past years, so that the printers' bills for 1890 and 1891 are still unpaid; but if Advance-Subscriptions for five years can be obtained this year, the whole of the Society's liabilities can be discharged, and its work to the end of 1896 paid for.

In order to increase the Society's funds, the Executive Committee have resolved that any Member may give the right to any Library or person to buy the first nine years of the Society's publications, 1882-90, at half-price—14 volumes at 4 guineas and a half—provided that with this sum are paid the full Subscriptions for 1891, 1892, and 1893.

England, Europe, and the rest of the Christian world owe so much to the memory of Wyclif, that support ought to be forthcoming for the printing of his Works, the records of his thoughts and life. Half the Society's task is done. It is for our Members to see that the other half is finished speedily. Editors are ready and willing. Money alone is wanting.

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From 1st January to 31st December, 1890.

RECEIPTS.				PAYMENTS.			
1890	£	s.	d.	1890	£	s.	d.
By Balance, 31st Dec. 1889	216	12	6	To Copying and Editing ...	159	9	0
„ *\$316 Subscriptions				„ Printing and Binding ...	349	4	9
at £1 1s. each. 331	16	0		„ Stationery and Postages	6	9	0
Less Booksellers' Commission..	0	6	6	„ Cheque disallowed through informality and paid in a second time...	1	1	0
	331	9	6	„ Bankers' Commission ...	0	5	0
By Donations	6	2	0				
*Subscriptions for 1882—	2			Balance 31st Dec. 1890 ...	37	15	3
„ 1883—	2						
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	315						
One double credited (see other side).							
	£554	4	0		£554	4	0

Examined and found correct,

RICHARD STONE,

JOHN H. LEONARD,

January 29th, 1891

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INTRODUCTION.

I. The Manuscripts.

De Blasphemia is extant in no less than seven MSS., four belonging to the Vienna Hofbibliothek, one to Trinity College, Dublin, and the two others to public libraries in Prague. The Vienna and Dublin MSS. have been lettered as follows: Cod. Vind. 4514 (A); Trinity College, Dublin, C. 1, 24 (B); Cod. Vind. 1343 (C); Cod. Vind. 3933 (D), and Cod. Vind. 3935 (E). As for the two Prague MSS., the Executive Committee of the Wyclif Society has not thought it necessary to collate them, on account of the very great delay and expense already incurred in the collation of the others, as the Reports of the Society have fully explained. The same reasons have obliged me to dispense with the help of MSS. D and E after the first two chapters, their readings (as will appear to any one who examines them with care) not seeming sufficiently important to warrant any further collation. B and C are evidently the best manuscripts; A, from which the copy was made, unfortunately proved to be the worst of all, and moreover the copy came into my hands in such a state as to necessitate a complete revision of the text. I shall only say that in collating the Trinity MS. I often had to recur to that manuscript in order to make out my text, and that the observations of Dr. Poole on the copying of the MS. (A) of his *De Dominio Divino* (Introduction, pp. XIV, XV) apply with such striking truth to parts of the transcript of *De Blasphemia*, that I should not wonder if the copyist was the same in both cases. Other parts, however, particularly towards the end, were very fairly written.

A few remarks about each of the MSS. will suffice.

A (Cod. Vind. 4514) is described at length in Mr. Pollard's *De Officio Regis*, Int. p. XXIX. Its untrustworthiness has obliged me very often indeed to adopt the readings of B and C. I need hardly say that the spelling, even when not pointed out in the foot-notes, is often at variance with the other MSS., but spelling is so well known to have been thought little of by scribes of the period that I have considered it superfluous to correct it.

B (Trinity College, Dublin, C. 1, 24), described as F in *De Apostasia*, Int. p. V., is a very good MS.; and I at first thought it better than C. Towards the end of the work, however, I came to think that C was at least as good.

C (Cod. Vind. 1343) is described in the Introduction to *De Apostasia*, p. IV.

A full description of D (Cod. Vind. 3933) will be found in Dr. Buddensieg's *Wyclif's Polemical works*, Int. pp. XXXI, XXXII, and in *De Officio Regis* (Int. XXIX, XXX).

E (Cod. Vind. 3935) is described as B in *De Apostasia*, Int. IV, and more fully in Mr. Poole's *De Dominio Divino*, Int. XII, XIII.

The two Prague MSS. are also briefly described in *De Apostasia* as C (C. 73) and D (III, F. 11); the former belonging to the Dom-capitelbibliothek, and the latter to the University Library. So far as I can see, the Committee was under the circumstances quite justified in deciding not to collate them, although C. 73 might possibly have turned out to be an independent source.

The MSS. C, D, E were partially collated, and A revised, by Dr. Goldmann with extreme care and conscientiousness; it was indeed owing to this very care that the Committee were enabled to judge that D and E might safely be set aside. My thanks are due to him, and also to Drs. Beer and Herzberg-Fränckel, who, throughout my stay in Vienna, rendered me every assistance in their power, with the greatest courtesy and friendliness. I collated B myself in the British Museum; and perhaps it will not be wholly superfluous to note here that I hardly ever took any notice of mere differences of spelling, of places of words when they did not alter the sense, nor even of such variants as *igitur* for *ergo*, *et* for *atque*, &c. I drew the line only at the smallest difference of sense.

Throughout my work I have been favoured with the active help of Mr. Matthew, whose assistance, on this occasion as with *De Apostasia*, has been invaluable to me, and I feel that I cannot thank him too heartily, nor indeed as heartily as he deserves. The encouragement and advice of Dr. Furnivall, who prevailed on me to go to Vienna, has also been of much use. I must not forget to thank Dr. Birk, the Head Librarian of the Vienna Hofbibliothek, for having kindly placed the MSS. at my disposal.

II. Authenticity and date of the work.

Nothing need be said of the authenticity of *De Blasphemia*; both external and internal evidence on this point are too strong to leave us the shadow of a doubt. As to the date, I was at first of opinion that it must belong to the latter part of the year 1383 or the beginning of 1384. It was certainly written after *De Apostasia*, which it several times quotes (see pp. 48, 202, 220, 224). Now, in my Introduction to *De Apostasia*, p. VI. I had come to the conclusion that the Crusade in Flanders was alluded to in one instance, which sufficed to fix its date as simultaneous with that of the expedition; and in *De Blasphemia*, pp. 156, 191, we find expressions that may be construed as referring to the Crusade. I was indeed astonished at the amount of work that Wyclif, according to this supposition, had found means to crowd into one year; but on the other hand, the words *Cruciatum languidum infinitum* seemed to me quite meaningless where they stood, unless I took *cruciatum* to be a mistake for *cruciatam*.

But this hypothesis encounters a difficulty that seems quite insuperable. It is well known that the Peasants' Rebellion, under Wat Tyler, and the violent death of Archbishop Sudbury, took place in June, 1381. Now, in *De Blasphemia*, Wyclif alludes to this popular disturbance as having occurred quite recently; and this allusion is contained, not in one single ambiguous line, but in a long digression, pleading for the rebels and excusing them as far as possible (p. 190—200). Besides, towards the end of the work (p. 267) he again returns to the same subject, using the very significant words, *hoc anno*. "If *this year*", he says, "the rich clergy had offered to pay taxes to the king for the poor, there would then have been no need to revolt."

It is barely possible and extremely improbable that this is merely an episode inserted into *De Blasphemia*, which may have been written at a later date. Not to mention the fact that it fits into the rest of the text quite as well as any of Wyclif's numerous digressions, there is another argument in favour of *De Blasphemia* being written in 1381. We have an allusion (pp. 89, 247) to a recent condemnation of Wyclif's theory of the Eucharist in Oxford. This condemnation is usually ascribed to the year 1382, May—November.¹ Now, Mr. Matthew² has proved — conclusively, in my opinion — that the date 1381, summer, usually given to the first appearance of Wyclif's doctrine on Transubstantiation, is in reality the date of his condemnation at Oxford. We have thus two separate indications, each pointing to the latter half of 1381 as the date of *De Blasphemia*.

But if we admit this date, *De Apostasia*, which was certainly written before it, must also be shifted backwards; and how then can I explain the words *cruciatum langwidum infinitum*, and the allusions to the Crusade in *De Blasphemia*? I must reluctantly say that I was too hasty in taking three words as a sufficiently precise indication on which to found the date of *De Apostasia*. Whatever its date may be, it stands between *De Simonia* and *De Blasphemia*, as it quotes the former and is quoted in the latter work; it was also written probably before *De Eucharistia*, because, though its doctrines are substantially the same, and it deals with the Eucharistic question in fifteen of its seventeen chapters, no mention is made of that work. And in *De Apostasia* Wyclif still holds to the term of Transubstantiation, which he definitively rejects in *De Eucharistia* (*De Ap.* 210; *De Euch. Int.* IV). As to explaining the words *cruciatum* &c., I give it up. So far as I can see, they have no meaning. If Wyclif intends to say that the devil leads his adherents to the torments of Hell, they would in one sense be 'infinite'; but 'languid' is an epithet that seems most misappropriate to such pains. All I can do here is to suppose the text corrupt through some copyist's mistake or the interpolation into the text of a remark originally intended as a foot-note.

¹ See Mr. Pollard's list of dates, *Dialogus*, *Int.* XIII, XIV. Historical Review, April, 1890.

² English

We have more difficulty in getting rid of the allusions to the Crusade in *De Blasphemia*.¹ It is indeed nowhere mentioned by name; but the allusions to it are quite transparent, if we consider that here was at the time no other movement — at once military and clerical — to which Wyclif's language could with any probability refer. These allusions seem therefore to have been made, if before the Crusade, only a short time before it; not two whole years, as the date of the work stands by the preceding considerations. We may suppose that Wyclif himself, after having finished his work, added a few remarks here and there in a later and (so to speak) revised edition; and possibly the *sicut ducit eos ad cruciatum* &c. of *De Apostasia*, may also be explained in the same way.

III. Contents of *De Blasphemia*.

One thing forcibly strikes the reader of *De Blasphemia*: the comparative violence of the language, when read after *De Apostasia*. Wyclif was evidently deeply wounded, and the reasons of this feeling are not difficult to discover; indeed his repeated allusions to the Oxford condemnation show clearly enough what they were. Yet he never, even when indignantly protesting against the injustice of the man who would burn him without hearing his defence (pp. 73—75), descends so far towards personalities as to name the man to whom he refers. And there is no advance in doctrine from *De Apostasia* and others of his later works. In fact, the concluding sentences of the book, — in which he declares himself ready, if need be, to retract his doctrine of the Eucharist (p. 287; see also p. 75), and merely says (p. 288) that as to confession, he thinks it necessary, but believes that Innocent III's decree was ill-considered, — seem to have been written with studied moderation, in view of a future citation at some tribunal or other.

The work, written immediately, or almost immediately after *De Apostasia*, has a much more defined plan than the former; though here, as everywhere else, Wyclif's digressive habits stick to him, and

¹ See pp. 156, 191, especially. We have even the word *crucient* on p. 156. Wyclif cannot allude to the suppression of the rebels by Spencer, Bishop of Norfolk; for in both these passages he distinctly points to a foreign land (*alienam ecclesiam . . . exteros*).

we may observe of him what was said of Montaigne, that 'he knows perfectly well what he says, but does not know what he is going to say'. Subjects that we consider as separate are connected in his mind: from the authority of the Pope to the existence of the Friars, and from each to Transubstantiation and endowments, the transition is easy and frequently made; and we often find that what is nominally a head of discussion, and marked as such in his plan, becomes, so to speak, a mere peg to hang a digression upon.

Wyclif, after a short definition of blasphemy, immediately attacks its *root* (i. e. the Roman Curia) and then its *branches*, comprising the whole under the collective title of the 'twelve daughters of the diabolical Leech', or twelve 'tormentors of the Church' (p. 54): the *Pope* (ch. I to V), the *Cardinals* (ch. V), the *Bishops* (ch. VI), the *Archdeacons* (ch. VII), the *officials*, to which is added a synopsis of Wyclif's views about confession (chs. VIII to XII); the rural *Deans*, *Rectors*, and *inferior Priests* (ch. XII); the *monks* (ch. XIII), the *Friars* (ch. XIV to XVII), the *door-keepers* or *clerks* (ch. XVII) and the *questors* (ch. XVIII).

Before proceeding to give an account of the contents of the work, I may say that I thought it would be interesting to confront Wyclif's doctrines with the acknowledged beliefs of the Church of Rome. Readers are frequently puzzled, when lighting upon some bold and startling theory, to decide whether the writer was bringing forward some new idea of his own, or merely laying stress upon some recognized doctrine of the Church. And for all such scholars as know the enormous influence exercised then as now by St. Thomas Aquinas, there is no need of my apologizing for having set face to face the 'Doctor Evangelicus' and the 'Angel of the School'.

Ch. I. Wyclif begins as usual with a short definition and division of blasphemy. It is committed, 1st, when we ascribe to God attributes that are not His; 2nd, when we deny His real attributes, and 3rd, when we ascribe His attributes to creatures. St. Thomas (*Summa Theologiae*, 2^a, 2^{ae}, qu. XIII, art. 1, *Ad 2^m*) gives this division almost in the same words, but does not name the authors from whom he takes it¹, and points out that the division is not a

¹ A quibusdam dicitur.

good one. — The relation between simony, apostasy, and blasphemy is then shown; as every mortal sin implies simony and apostasy, so it also implies blasphemy. As a corollary, Wyclif at once concludes that the root of blasphemy is in the Roman Curia, because a man most unlike Christ is said to be Christ's Vicar: discord between words and deeds is blasphemy, according to Augustine. A powerful invective follows against the worldliness, pride, secular pomp and effeminate luxury of the Roman Pontiff, whose life is in all points a contrast to the life of Christ. The ceremony of kissing the Pope's feet is inveighed against. Christ, even in the glory of His resurrection, did not *allow* Magdalen to kiss His feet; and the Pope *orders* his cardinals to kiss his! The counsel of humility, 'to take the lowest place', is utterly set at naught; but at the Day of Judgment he that acts thus will surely take the lowest place, Hell. Thus the Pope has no right to such homage as Vicar of Christ (p. 7—9); human traditions have nothing to do with holiness; it is not necessary to salvation to obey the Pope; and England, after the death of Urban VI, would do well to throw off his obedience, follow any one who would show himself by his works to be Christ's Vicar, and return to the purity of primitive Christianity. True, difficulties stand in the way; the opposite party is strong, endowments are a great temptation, and all these abuses are of very long standing: but it is flat heresy to oppose truth for such motives; the longer any abuse has existed, the greater the evil becomes.

Wyclif then brings forward three heads of an accusation of blasphemy against the Pope, calling the first *Hidden Power*. The Pope has no more right to give dispensations, absolve, and grant indulgences, than any other equally good priest. Dispensations in the matter of vows, if the vows were wisely made, are null and void; if otherwise, they are superfluous: a foolish vow ought not to be kept. Here we may say that St. Thomas (S. Th. 2^a 2^{ae}, qu. LXXXVIII, art. 12) has a very remarkable summary of the doctrine of his Church on this subject, which is not so far from Wyclif's opinion as might be thought. St. Thomas distinctly says (Ad 2^m) that a man who accepts a dispensation for a vow, without having at the least a reasonable doubt whether his vow was wisely made, is guilty of sin: this considerably limits the dispensing

power.¹ Vows besides, adds Wyclif, speaking of perpetual vows, often have the effect of hindering us in our duty and tying us down to a beaten track.

Three objections are next refuted in detail. The facts that there were sects under the Old Dispensation proves nothing in favour of sects under the New; Anselm, praising monastic life, spoke of men who really observed the perfection of Christ's law; and vows have, according to St. Thomas, the effect of rendering venial sins mortal (S. Th. 2^a 2^{ae}, qu. CLXXXVI, art. 9, 10).— This quotation of St. Thomas should however, be read in the original; he by no means admits that this effect is caused by the vows, nor does he even grant that sins committed through mere frailty become more grievous; those alone that are perpetrated 'ex contemptu' become worse. — Vows that we cannot keep ought not to be kept; for God cannot command what is impossible. Wyclif also shows that liberty is destroyed to a great extent by the rules of the sects; a point to which he returns in the last chapter (pp. 280 and seq.). And as, notwithstanding his Determinism, he is a strong upholder of individual free-will, this is a very important thing with him. It would here be irrelevant to show how his system reconciles free-will and Determinism (*Omnia que eveniunt, de necessitate eveniunt*); it would also take far too much space; but the working out of his system appears clearly in his philosophical works, of which I have had the occasion to copy some, and to collate others.

1st Wyclif then, implicitly granting that the Pope has power over the Orders, points out how that power could best be exercised: by giving a general dispensation of vows to all monks and friars. Such a dispensation, necessary for Christian liberty, would assimilate the secular to the regular clergy, while it need not absolutely interfere with the claustral life of such as prefer living thus. Should the Pope hesitate to grant this liberty, God will grant it (pp. 14—15). Authorities are quoted in favour of this view: Bernard and Anselm use words that identify the profession of Christianity with that of

¹ See also art. 10 and the whole of qu. I.LXXXVIII, in regard to Wyclif's position that the vows of Baptism are the most solemn of all, and render all others superfluous (p. 11).

monachism, and Lanfranc holds that we are quite justified in withdrawing from a monastery where our salvation is in danger. Such use of the Papal authority would be far better than commanding angels and regulating things of the next world, as Wyclif complains that 'Pope Clement' — perhaps Robert of Geneva — had done in a certain bull of his.

2nd The second head of accusation is *False Wisdom*, which is very briefly disposed of. If the Pope possesses the power of the keys, he must claim for himself supernatural wisdom in order to use them properly; but facts sufficiently disprove this assumption, and it must be made for all that.

3rd *Feigned benevolence*. Here the temporal power, constantly asserted by the Popes to be indispensable for the good government of the Church, and to be only claimed out of zeal and charity, is affirmed to proceed from quite contrary motives. If it were necessary, God would not allow it to be taken away; and the Pope's want of success shows that his temporal power, condemned by the life of Christ, is displeasing to God. We should rise up and refuse to obey him; but the perils of such a course render it more prudent to stand aside and await events. Wyclif darkly hints at a miraculous intervention of Divine Providence.

Ch. II. (pp. 18--41) deals for the most part with the Eucharistic question (pp. 31); it then returns to assail the authority of the Pope. After complaining of the exalting of traditions, the abasement of Christ's school, and the putting forward of evil doctrines under the appearance of good, Wyclif exemplifies the latter in the case of the Eucharist. It is idolatry to adore the visible Sacrament as God, for it certainly is not God. It is adored under pretext of devotion: idolaters may be very devout, but false devotion cannot please the God of truth. The more abject the sign worshipped, the greater the crime: now, the Host is, according to these men, nothing but a lot of empty appearances; it is therefore the most degrading of all idolatries. The people believe that the Host which they see is identical with Christ; and the Friars, wishing, as they say, to favour popular devotion, allow this error to prevail, though their own doctors¹

¹ St. Thomas, for instance.

declare the contrary. Neither the sign of Christ's presence nor a mere accident can be identical with Him; and if the consecrated Hosts differ from each other in many things, how can they be all identical with Christ? It may be denied that the people is infected with such an error: but this is a question of fact, and easily answered. We cannot consider it as a sufficient reply to say that we believe what the Church believes, or that the dogma is not fundamental. Idolatry or faith? that is the question, and we may not say that it is of slight consequence. Others blaspheme, saying that the words of Scripture are obscure; but both the adversaries and the adherents of this system maintain that they are quite plain. Wyclif then, quoting from *De Eucharistia*, states his position: that the consecrated bread is Christ's Body figuratively, not naturally; sacramentally not substantially; metaphorically, not identically. — I have dwelt at length, in the Introduction to *De Apostasia*, upon the doctrinal meaning of Wyclif's Eucharistic theory: what he says about it in *De Blasphemia* brings us no new light, and there will therefore be no occasion to add here any remarks on the subject.

We should believe Scripture, he goes on to say, and care little for what either the Pope or the Sects may affirm on this matter. Pope Innocent's decrees¹ may be wrong; and, infallibility depending upon personal holiness, there is a strong case against that ambitious Pope. Yet we should, out of respect, explain the decree, understanding 'transubstantiation' to mean 'conversion.' The Friars, however, take it to mean annihilation of the substance of bread, so that nothing remains but the accidents; of what sort, they are unable to say. This is blindness. The accidents indeed remain in the act of our mind that contemplates them; but the activity of the subject is lost sight of, not destroyed.

The contrary hypothesis involves 1st *Much dissimulation*; for when Friars hear it said that we see Christ with the bodily eye, they find it convenient to remain silent; they cannot even refrain from subtilizing as concerns the essence of the sacrament of Baptism; lucre is the true motive of the dissembling of these teachers of lies, to whom no Christian ought to give aid. 2nd, *False miracles*; for in-

¹ *Firmiter* and *Cum Marthae*.

stance, the destruction of the bread, contrary to all the ancient Doctors of the Church,¹ and the presence of Christ's Body in the Host, with all its qualities, as in Heaven. 3rd *Great absurdities*. The Sacrament is neither bread nor Christ's Body; or it is at the same time Christ and the most abject of entities. In the Host, all the parts of our Lord's Body are mixed up together in ridiculous confusion; according to those Doctors, the very impossibility of a thing is a reason for our believing it. The theory of the multiplication of Christ's Body in different Hosts would place Christ above and below Himself, &c. with infinite other absurd conclusions. The presence of Christ in the Host by no means involves the multiplication of His Body, for He is present figuratively, and a figurative Body can be present without multiplication in many places. This view of Christ's presence is preferable to any other, as it cuts short the idolatry into which the people are too apt to fall.

Wyclif then (p. 31) proceeds to attack the Pope's authority. Here is idolatry again; he is worshipped as Christ's Vicar; this is worse than the adoration of a piece of wood. Peter, Paul and Barnabas allowed no one to prostrate himself before them; if the Pope exacts such honours to be paid to himself personally, he is guilty of idolatry: of which we must purify the Church.

The first step towards such purification is to relieve her of the riches with which she is burdened; the influence of the priesthood is diminished rather than strengthened by them: the inequality of wealth that we see in the world is merely a punishment for sin. The upper classes require riches and power, to keep up their temporal authority; merchants may possess a moderate competence, but must not charge too dear, and are, on the authority of Chrysostom, advised not to trade to foreign ports for articles that they would only re-sell at a higher price. As for the clergy, it is absolutely necessary that they should be free from all superfluous wealth, and receive as alms

¹ Particularly to St. Thomas Aquinas. He denies, not that God can, but that He *does*, annihilate anything (S. Th. 1^a, qu. CIV. art. 4); and on this account he says that the bread, being changed into something better (Christ's Body), is not destroyed (3^a, qu. LXXV, art. 3); though indeed, as he admits that the substance of bread is neither in the Host nor anywhere else, it is hard to understand whether this is or is not more than a mere question of words.

the tithes given freely by the rich, while the poor offer up their prayers as spiritual tithes. For tithes are a duty that we owe to God, not a source of merit; if we wish to have merit, according to Augustine's doctrine, we must put the other nine-tenths of our possessions (setting aside what is indispensable for food and raiment) into God's treasury under the form of alms, never forgetting that nothing rightly belongs to any Christian, except in so far as it helps him to serve God. This rule is too often simoniacally set aside by the clergy, especially as regards the collation of benefices; and it thus happens that prelates to whom the spiritual power is wanting (precisely because they are proud of that power which God, withholding from them, may give to an unknown priest) are set over the people.

After this digression, Wyclif goes on to examine the arguments in favour of Papal power, especially as regards the Pope's claim to grant dispensations. He has no more right to the promises made to Peter than he has to be called the light of the world; the power to loose and to bind depends exclusively upon personal holiness. To dispense validly, we must dispense according to God's will: but that would require infallibility, to which the Pope cannot pretend. (It may here be remarked that Catholic theologians, even now, though they claim a certain amount of Divine assistance and guidance for the Pope in matters of Church discipline, do not by any means ascribe infallibility to him in that respect. But neither do they admit that infallibility is necessary in matters of discipline.) — Wyclif states that this dispensing power implies that whatever the Pope does is right, and that he will be saved. Yet all his power consists solely in the agreement of his sentence with God's. As it now stands, it is very weak indeed, as we see by the light of present events; the Pope, having no earthly power, cannot open or shut the gates of Heaven, and, unable even to set up a friendly prince in a country to which he lays claim, cannot possibly grant remission of sins and indulgences. Such great power, if he had it, should be first applied to himself. The chapter concludes with a warning both to laymen and to monks and friars, not to confide in the Pope nor uphold him.

Ch. III (pp. 41—51) is a short one. Three false principles, from which the root of blasphemy springs — 1st, that every Bishop of Rome is Christ's Vicar; 2nd, that he is infallible in matters of faith

and 3rd, that his laws are above the Gospel — are attacked. Wyclif argues against the first only, because, that destroyed, the other two must go at once. As a fact, many Popes have been apostates. Election neither gives, nor forces God to give the virtue requisite for the elect to become Christ's Vicar: even Christ's election had no such power in the case of Iscariot. Election aims, not (as it ought to do) at choosing one of the elect, but at giving a purely secular position to the man chosen. It is thus a source of great danger, leading men astray for the most part, and giving them to believe that the Pope is the elect of God. To elect a Vicar of Christ is tantamount to declaring that a certain man is predestinate; which, unless in the case of special revelation, is blasphemy.

These three principles destroyed by overthrowing the first of them, Wyclif proceeds to substitute in their place and to prove three contrary principles. 1st, No man is more likely to be Antichrist than the Roman Pontiff. Where there are more facilities for a man to set himself up in Christ's place, there is more likelihood that he will do so. Such is the case with the Pope. 2nd The Pope is to be believed only when his words agree with Holy Writ. His duty is not to make articles of faith, but to expound Scripture in all humility. 3rd To follow any man rather than the Gospel, is rank blasphemy.

From these principles flows a corollary. The different religious Orders, having their being only by Papal statutes not grounded on Scripture, ought to be put down. That there are good points in the present system proves nothing whatever in its favour. God's law is said to be the standard according to which the Orders act, but in reality they care for nothing but their own traditions. This is a dangerous practical error, for it is the source of all divisions in the Church, each man seeking his own. But the root of all the evil was the perpetuity of the Pope's approbation of these sects.

It may be objected that the Church needs a Head. — True, but not a visible one. Christ is the Head of the Church; yet it was expedient that even *His* visible presence should be taken away from us. As we see now, visible Heads occasion schisms in the Church. And we, as brethren, should avoid all dissensions. St. Jerome, quoted here, says that custom can change nothing in matters of faith; that a Bishop (or priest) may rank higher or lower according to his wealth,

but that all are equal; and that one of the Apostles was set over the others, in order to avoid schism.

All that is now changed; pride is the source of greatness in the Church, blasphemies are multiplied, indulgences are abusively granted, new laws are continually made. This, even if done by ignorance, does not excuse the doers; the origin of this evil — temporal possessions — must be taken away from the Church, and the clergy should feed their flock with the bread of Holy Writ.

Ch. IV (pp. 52—65) begins with a beautiful theory on the ultimate aim of man's being. He was placed in this world only to serve God and to yearn towards Heaven; to help him thereto, God has given him the example of the natural sky, with its sublime influences over our earth, of the Sacrament, in which terrestrial matter is lost sight of, and of Christ's Humanity, which is merged in the Godhead; all in order to foster within us the virtue of unworldliness. All heresies proceed from too great attachment to things temporal, which is increased by the devil, whom Wyclif calls a leech. This diabolical leech has twelve daughters, ever crying Give, give: viz., Popes, cardinals, bishops, archdeacons, officials, deans, rectors, common priests, monks, friars, doorkeepers and questors; but our author notes expressly that he excepts from the number all such as lead a Christian life.

This division, coming rather late in the work, is nevertheless as good as any that Wyclif usually employs. We have already seen that most of what precedes, from the very beginning of the work, is aimed at the Pope, though of course with frequent digressions to one side and to another. The rest of this chapter may also be said to belong to the first of Wyclif's divisions; so that the first 'daughter of the leech' is dealt with, more or less directly, from p. 1. to p. 65.

How can we know that any man is a pseudo-pope? By his attachment to earthly things, which has increased ever since the disastrous endowment of the Church, accepted by Sylvester, against the spirit of the Fathers of the early Church: witness Augustine, who distinctly condemns the idea of a Bishop accepting money from a father to the disadvantage of his son. Now in almost every case of endowment, the giver has legal heirs, to whom the property ought to revert, and Augustine either condemned all endowments, or was inconsistent. These endowments besides weaken the secular power, so necessary

to the Church; they pervert the clergy, diminish charity amongst them, and cause dissensions and wars. All this is through the folly or the mistaken piety of some temporal lords who made these endowments. They are responsible for all those blasphemies about the 'patrimony of the Crucified', the authority to excommunicate, the assumption of holding all power from Christ, whereas the Pope, pretending to be 'like unto the most High', more nearly resembles Lucifer. Unworldliness in the Pope is absolutely indispensable; the King of Pride can otherwise never be conquered; the conflict is hard enough as it is. Christ's deeds are no less explicit than His words. He had not where to lay His head. Both reason and faith tell us that riches are good only in so far as they help us heavenward; which, if excessive, they cannot do. Let our luxurious prelates remember the Rechabites, and consider themselves as 'Anathema'; for, since they do not keep Christ's commandments, they do not love Him.

Sylvester's motive in accepting endowments was doubtless good; yet he sinned, for the results of his acts have been most disastrous to all Christendom. At present, if Christ were to appear unknown and to blame the life of Church dignitaries, he would be burned as a heretic or scoffed at as a madman: for Christ's followers are thus treated now for doing likewise. According to Christ, the last should be first, and the humblest the highest, not the proudest. And since Constantine's endowment has done so much harm, it is the duty of the secular prince to undo the harm done by a secular prince; he must refuse aid to bad priests, and humble the 'head of blasphemy'.

Ch. V (pp. 65—80) attacks the college of Cardinals as the second 'conjugatio' of the daughters of the leech. Their name, taken by syllables, is found to mean *CARior DIaboli NATus, LIcium Seminatio*; taken by letters, it stands for *Custos Apostatarum Regni Diaboli, Iuvans Nequissimum Ad Legem Judicis Sopiendam*. A general condemnation is then passed upon them on account of their essential aim, which is to favour Papal pretensions. Their dignities are without Scripture warrant; Christ ordained none but priests and deacons; all other dignities encroach upon the honour due to secular powers, and spring from the love of vainglory. The college of Cardinals compares itself to the Apostles; if so, it is responsible for the present state of the Church, which is governed by the Cardinals.

Wyclif's doctrine, it is argued, would ruin all Church endowments. So it would. But there are in the world three kingdoms: that of Antichrist, that of secular princes, and Christ's Kingdom. The abolition of endowments would destroy the first, it is true, but would be favourable to the others (pp. 68—70). Again, it would do away with all hierarchical distinctions; but there would remain the inward distinctions of personal holiness. Excommunications would also cease, at least such as are pronounced for the sake of temporal gain, and are prefigured by the treachery of him that sold our Lord for money. Their frequency is in itself a good proof of the spirit in which they are pronounced, and their disproportion to the offence (for instance, those pronounced to avenge injuries inflicted on a Cardinal) is a crying scandal. The same may be said of many other practices that implicitly assert the Pope's universal dominion.

Here Wyclif deals with the question whether all prelates are heretics; a consequence that would seem to follow from his line of argument. Many are called heretics, who are not. Christ himself was called so. This is a point that God alone, not the Pope, can decide. But a certain prelate has imagined a new method of procedure as to heretical doctrines; the accused must answer simply *yes* or *no* to all questions without any explanations, and if *yes*, he is at once to be burnt as a heretic, and his bishop is to be deposed for tolerating him. — This sentiment clearly proceeds from some very fierce enemy of Wyclif, probably a Bishop who had formerly been a Friar. It is so flatly contrary to every notion of justice, that I suspect it to have been only one of those unguarded sentences that sometimes fall from the lips of orators, either in the pulpit or elsewhere. However this may be, it is inveighed against in a passage of great energy and eloquence. Judges may err; no law — except perhaps that of Mahomet — could ever tolerate such proceedings. The idea of deposing Bishops was no doubt first entertained by some apostate who wished to get their sees for himself. Then, addressing the unnamed author of the proposal, Wyclif exclaims: "O thou hypocrite! . . . in thine own diocese there are thousands of heretics; and how then canst thou dare to exhort a Bishop, under penalty of losing his see, to condemn a man for heresy in a

place¹ not under his jurisdiction and in a matter which thou, babbler as thou art! canst not even conceive? Most surely, I may retort, thou art an arch-heretic (*coronatus hereticus*) unless thou showest that he is a heretic whom thou thus blindly accusest." This, Wyclif goes on to explain, refers to his own views on the Eucharist, which he contends are far more orthodox than those of his opponent. Yet that man would burn him without suffering him to reply! And Bishops are to be deposed for suffering heretics; whereas Christ Himself suffered Judas, *and suffers this apostate too!*

Heretical prelates, he continues, ought indeed to be most severely punished, but not put to death by the Church; this would be contrary to Christ's spirit of love. Scripture commands us to avoid them; the sentence of excommunication would be the very fact of a life contrary to Christ's law; and no temporal succour should be given to perverse members of the clergy, except in cases of absolute want. Tithes ought not to be paid to bad priests, whatever the consequences of refusal may be: the case of dues to be paid to secular lords without enquiring into their lives, is by no means parallel. If secular lords compel the faithful to pay tithes, the clergy will come to consider them, not as alms, but as a right. The reason of all this backsliding is our forgetfulness of the example of Christ.

Ch. VI (pp. 80—94.) The Bishops form the third class of tormentors of the Church; they have much degenerated, and want to be again set in the right way by being discharged of the burden of riches. It is for the good of their souls; they cannot complain of being unjustly compelled to do what is right; according to Augustine, it is even a duty of charity to compel them. They cannot maintain that the intention of those who first made the endowments was to bring about the present state of things, or that the heirs have no longer any right over that which has been given away, since these very heirs still appoint to benefices in many a case; and therefore they still have a right to their possessions. Those that harm the clergy by endowments are severely punished by the evil effects result-

¹ *In a place*, etc. . . . in loco exempto. This bears special reference to the Bishop of Lincoln, and is a marked instance of Wyclif's strong University feeling. The Bishop was always claiming jurisdiction over the University, which the University disclaimed.

ing therefrom. Bishops now give curses instead of blessings, and thus beget sons of the devil; property becomes less, a general rebellion is impending, and all will be destroyed, unless God's providence intervenes to save us.

The fallacy of false piety, intending to honour Christ's disciples, is met by the fact that Christ upon earth refused all such honour. Friars excuse their high living by the good they do; such an excuse would be just as available for every possible excess. They justify their splendid churches by Solomon's temple; that argument would give every Bishop, like Solomon, a number of wives and concubines. To excuse such scandals is to be worse than Iscariot; he at least affected to think of the poor, when he reproached Magdalen: they do not. When that poverty to which Friars pretend, is said to be indispensable to the clergy, they cry, Heresy! and admitting that the same man may be a member of Christ and of Belial, they grant that Christ is the devil: an awful blasphemy. No 'foreknown' can possibly be a member of Christ, nor can one of the elect be a member of the devil, though either may be for a time in a state of grace or of sin. — There is a difficulty concerning this proposition (which is quite Catholic, if we understand the words 'member of Christ' in a peculiar way); for Wyclif, in one passage that I have not been able to identify, though I remember it quite distinctly, denies that a 'prescitus' can receive baptism; and as, according to the usual doctrine, baptism — either of water,¹ fire or blood — is an indispensable preliminary to being in a state of grace, I do not see how our author can consistently admit that 'prescitus potest esse in grāciam secundum presentem iusticiam.'²

Apostates are compared to warm water that 'freezes more quickly than cold, because its pores are dilated', and Christian charity which alone can save the people, is likened to the ointment on Aaron's head (the clergy) which descended unto his beard (the temporal lords) and even to the hem of his garment (the common people). And let those who would hinder this union of charity lose all their property,

¹ In the Trialogus (IV. c. 12) however, Wyclif admits that a 'praescitus' can receive the baptism '*fluminis*' but not '*flaminis*'. This may answer my difficulty, but it brings others to the front.

especially the Friars. Let no man give them any temporal aid; if they pretend to be in absolute want, let them work.

Some Friars condemn what they do not understand, like the seven doctors at Oxford, who have condemned my doctrine of the Eucharist. Though they clearly know nothing whatever about *what* it is, they have proceeded to determine *how* Christ is present therein. The Gospels all say that the bread is Christ's body.

Wyclif again returns to the punishment that he wishes to be meted out to these conspirators against Christ's law: alms should be withheld from them. Each of the Orders hate the others, yet all of them join to withstand him who would reform the Church. They are like the Pharisees in Christ's time, and answer well to the different significations of the Hebrew word.

The Bishops (for Wyclif happens to return to them at the end of the chapter) should give the people an example of poverty, of spiritual chastity, and of obedience to Christ; but since endowments have rendered it impossible for them to do so, they have gone wrong. They commit injustice, trouble the State, blind the people, and are disobedient stewards.

I have given a very full summary of the first six chapters, wishing the reader to notice how prone Wyclif is to repeat his conclusions, his arguments, and often his own words as regards his great topics: the Pope, Church endowments, the Friars, and the Holy Sacrament. And as he is always digressing into one or the other of these subjects, a much briefer synopsis will suffice henceforward, except as regards his theory of confession (chs. VIII—XII), and the rebellion of the peasants (almost the whole of ch. XIII).

Ch. VII (p. 94—110) attacks the Archdeacons, their pride and luxury, the slight fines that they inflicted for sins in order to get more money, and especially the abuse of excommunication and absolution. Excommunication, whether active or passive, may be right or wrong according as both the sentence and the motive agree or do not agree with God's law; but excommunication with bell, book and candle is to be utterly condemned. There follows a rather fine-drawn parallel between this practice and the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The people ought to excommunicate wicked priests by holding aloof from them; yet, as we never can be quite sure that

a man is a castaway, it is lawful to communicate even with the worst of men for their good. At present the greatest abuses prevail: all excommunications may be raised or absolutions obtained for money: the latter are given to robbers through fear. It is a proof that neither is worth anything. Excommunication ought, (1st) always to arise from a feeling of charity toward the person excommunicated, (2nd) never to be pronounced chiefly on account of a temporal motive; (3rd) God's law should never be forsaken because of human excommunications: they are then harmless thunderbolts. The duty of the faithful is to remain steadfast, notwithstanding the intimidation practised on both clergy and laity. If our persecutors say that obedience is due to them, we affirm that it is due to Christ alone, and to such as follow Christ. We resist their excommunications, in spite of the unjust laws that favour them; and we shall appeal to the king, as we have the right to do. This right they themselves implicitly acknowledge by calling for the aid of the secular arm.

Ch. VIII nominally deals with the 'fifth tormentor', the official whose business it was to obtain money by means of penance; but in reality it says nothing about him, and is completely filled up with Wyclif's opinions on the sacrament of Penance. In order to understand fully in how far he agrees and in how far he is in contradiction with the Church of Rome, I must premise a few statements on the Roman Catholic doctrine concerning this subject.

The sacrament of *Penance* is necessary to salvation, but not absolutely, only hypothetically (S. Th. 3^a, qu. LXXXIV, art. 5). No mortal sin can be remitted without, and all are forgiven with Penance (qu. LXXXVI. art. 1, 2). Penance removes the eternal, but not necessarily the temporal punishment of sin (art. 4, 5). Sins once forgiven do not return, if the sinner falls again (qu. LXXXVIII, art. 1). Penance consists of *contrition*, *confession*, and *satisfaction* (qu. XC, art. 2). *Contrition* must extend to all sins (suppl. 3^{ae} Partis, qu. II, art. 3), is the greatest of all sorrows, and cannot be excessive in itself, only in its effects (qu. III, art. 1, 2); it may, if sufficiently intense, remove even all the temporal punishment due to sin (qu. V. art. 2). *Confession* is necessary to salvation 'vel actu . . . vel saltem voto, quando articulus necessitatis, non contemptus, sacramentum excludit'. — Thus, when it is possible to confess, confession must be made.

We shall see that Wyclif admits this; but then his theory of the necessary personal holiness of all priests whose absolutions are valid, interferes with the practical working of his theory; it is useless, even hurtful to confess to one who cannot give absolution. — All are obliged to confess once a year, even such as have only venial sins; not indeed 'jure divino', but jure 'positivo', according to Pope Innocent's decree *Omnis utriusque sexus* (qu. VI, art. 3). But towards the end of the article (ad tertium dicendum) it is remarked that, according to some, the Decree is believed to have no bearing upon such as have committed no mortal sin during the whole year. — This, as we shall see, has direct relation to one of Wyclif's many objections to the statute of Pope Innocent. — The Pope himself cannot grant a dispensation from the law of confession. He can only release from the obligation of the Canon, not from the Divine commandment; for it is 'de jure divino' (art. 6). Confession must be made to a priest (qu. VIII. art. 1), though in certain cases it may be made to a layman with advantage (art. 2). — Wyclif and St. Thomas both agree on this point, though for different reasons. The former seems (p. 148) to think that an 'elect,' though a layman, has the power to grant absolution; St. Thomas says that in such cases the confession is only 'sacramentalis quodammodo,' the priestly power failing. — Only the priest who has received jurisdiction from his superiors has the right to hear confessions (art. IV). And here we may add, by the way, that St. Thomas appears to be much stricter on this point than the present custom of the Roman Catholic Church would warrant. He even says (ad secundum) that it is not lawful to receive communion at the hands of any other but the appointed priest. Certainly a Catholic living in London might confess there in the evening, and communicate in Liverpool the next morning, without being blamed in any way. — Many considerations, and not only the grievousness of the sin, are to be taken into account in imposing penances (art. 7). Confession with contrition (or contrition with the desire and intention to confess) delivers from the death of sin, and partly from the penalties due to sin (qu. IX, art. 1, 2). The seal of confession may on no account whatever be broken (qu. XI, art. 1). The confessor may even swear that he knows nothing of the confession (ad tertium); for it has been made to him as standing in God's place. This rule

holds, not only for the confessor, but also for all that may in any way happen to hear the confession; and *the Pope himself may not grant a dispensation to allow a priest to reveal a sin told in confession.* The penitent alone can allow this (art. 4). Priests have power, but not arbitrary power, to enjoin penances (qu. XVIII, art. 4). *Bad priests have the 'power of the keys',* so long as their jurisdiction remains; but *not even Saints have that power, unless they are priests* (qu. XIX, art. 4, 5.)

We may now return to the synopsis of Wyclif's doctrine.

Ch. VIII (p. 110—128) examines and attacks the law *Omnis utriusque sexus*; Chs. IX (p. 128—143) and X (143—156) determine to what extent oral confession is necessary, whilst Ch. XI solves several other problems, connected with the Sacrament of penance.

Starting from the definition of penance as *a sacrament by which sins are effaced from the heart and expiated*, contradicted by the assumption that, according to the decree of Innocent III. "all the faithful must, when arrived at the age of discretion, confess privately at least once a year to the appointed priest set over them, and endeavour to do the penance he enjoins them" (which implies that penance includes confession and absolution), Wyclif attacks this law. First of all, according to the Fathers, (Ambrose and Gregory, for instance) this confession is not penance; for their definition of penance does not include confession. Nor is it included, if we define Penance as "a virtue by which we deplore sin"; it is therefore a rite superadded to what is essential in the sacrament.

It is not reasonable to force the faithful to confess once a year '*proprio sacerdoti*', for a *proper* priest is too often not to be found; the obligation is either too loose or too strict, since it obliges to confession even those that have not sinned¹, and does not oblige even the greatest sinners to confess oftener; the law, besides, takes no account of exceptional cases, of deaf persons, wanderers, &c. There are also logical difficulties; for every instant a new year begins. And it is impossible to remember all the sins of a whole year; but, if they are not confessed in detail, how can a proper penance be assigned? Priests are now completely blinded, and unfit to be the confessors of a true Christian; they do not follow the law themselves. Besides

¹ See p. XXV, l. 9, 10.

their not being able to decide what penance ought to be given, it is certain that no amount of penance is sufficient in the sight of God. God's mercy either does or does not make up for insufficient penance; if it does, discernment in the priest is unnecessary; if it does not, we must find injustice everywhere, different priests enjoining different penances for the very same sin. It is useless here to fall back upon the notion of expiation in Purgatory, for an insufficient penance may result in sending the penitent to Hell; and even if not, the sufferings of Purgatory are the most severe of penalties. The very difficult science of enjoining proper penances is at present abandoned, and arbitrary penances are given; because, if the ancient canons were followed, no one would confess. Yet what was once possible is possible even now. The real motive of this conduct is worldly gain; these priests prefer to impose fines on their penitents, and, like bad doctors, ought to be hung. The law requiring the penitent to be *alone*, heretically implies that God can possibly not be present, that no confession is valid, if overheard; and it gives occasion to sins of lust. *Solus* besides can not apply to a woman.

Passing rapidly by the question of the seal of confession, to which he objects more at length in another part of the work, Wyclif points out the rigour of the law obliging every one to confess to the priest hierarchically appointed. Why should we have to ask leave to go to another, when we have good reasons for acting thus? And if the 'proper priest' alone can, according to the decree, grant the required permission, it follows that his Bishop has no right to do so, and therefore no jurisdiction. God gives the right to hear confessions at the same time as He gives the priesthood.

No formula of absolution is to be found in Scripture; all Christians can grant absolution. The priest, not knowing whether his penitent is contrite, is ignorant whether the absolution really takes place, or no: yet he utters the sacramental words — perhaps a falsehood. If the absolution is given provisionally, then the pardon is uncertain, and any other man could give it just as well. Augustine himself says that the absolution of a priest separated from the communion of the Church is not valid; this may possibly be true of the whole present hierarchy. According to Canon Law, if a Bishop has once ordained

a wicked priest, he no longer has the right¹ to ordain. And if the Bishop cannot ordain, then the priests he has consecrated are mere laymen.

Wyclif, summing up at the close of this chapter the principal motives for his opposition to the law — its injustice, its uselessness, and the spirit of greed that prompted it, — says in conclusion that it might perhaps be explained in agreement with his own views, but that he prefers to reject it simply and follow the law of Christ.

Ch. IX examines the necessity of confession to a priest. After refuting several false notions about the time of its institution, which, as a Church law, Wyclif identifies with the date of Innocent's decree, he rejects it as such on the ground of superfluity. On the other hand, he freely admits the necessity of confession in itself, as a law of our fallen human nature. Oral confession is a necessary means to be delivered from sin; every natural want supposes the means of satisfying it; and deliverance from sin is the greatest need of man. As one man ought to help another in his bodily wants, so he ought also to do for the wants of his soul. Thus confession is to be read of both in the times of the Old Law and of the New, though we nowhere hear of auricular confession. In the days of the early Church, however, confession, whether public or private, was *always free and unconstrained*. It is this point especially that rouses Wyclif's aversion to the law *Omnis utriusque sexus*. He indeed brings forward many objections that would seem to imply opposition to the practice of confession in itself; but in the light of subsequent and most unequivocal utterances, especially the declaration with which the whole work closes (p. 288), we cannot admit that there was any such opposition. He was certainly in favour of public, and also of auricular confession; but voluntary, not forced.

There are therefore three sorts of confession; one made to God with true repentance; this kind is absolutely necessary to salvation. Another is made to man; it is a law of nature, confirmed by Christ. The third sort is a mere human institution, rendered compulsory and exalted into an absolutely necessary instrument of salvation. Yet even

¹ The *right*, but not the *power*. Wyclif supposes that the power is taken away. It is unanimously admitted amongst Roman Catholic theologians, that even schismatical Bishops have the power to ordain.

this confession may be pleasing to God on the part of the priest, or of the penitent, or of both; and unless a parish priest is reasonably suspected of sin, his parishioners should confess to him as often as they need it.

Wyclif then, after a short digression about Innocent III., the Friars, and the Eucharist, answers three objections. 1st. It is lawful to compel men to do good. — Yes; but such compulsion falls only upon exterior acts, and the use of force is the duty of temporal, not spiritual masters. 2nd. Hugo of St. Victor, Bede, Augustine and Grosseteste all agree that confession is necessary to salvation. — Yet it is certainly not *absolutely* necessary, as many examples and Chrysostom's authority prove; that only belongs to contrition; human ordinances cannot be compared with Christ's law. We must avoid both extremes: no confession at all, and forced confession. What the above mentioned doctors say refers to the former error.

3rd. There is (Ch. X, p. 143) no strict definition of penance, as understood in the first or the second sense; all is vague. — This is denied, for the definition has been given already. What makes the difference between voluntary and obligatory confession is, that the latter is exacted in order to get money. Most priests only ask the penitent whether he has paid his tithes. Rather confess to the devil than to such idolatrous, leprous, simoniacal heretics! Never should alms be in any case given to the confessor, even should excommunication ensue (p. 145). Let us abhor this tendency to submit to every command, whether right or wrong.

A long quotation from Grosseteste follows, in which he gives the characteristics of Penance: he speaks of confession, as Wyclif remarks, only if and when it is possible. If we are truly contrite, God will always absolve us; if we are not, even the Pope could not. Absolution should never be unconditional; it is blasphemy for a priest to take upon himself the sins of another man, especially for money. Augustine says that every aggravating circumstance — *who* has committed *what* sin, *where*, *how often*, *with how many* and *what* persons, *why*, *how*, and *when* — should all be examined, and such penance given as may serve to correct the fault; yet we must not suppose that any penance enjoined by the priest is a sufficient atonement for sins that have been committed.

As I remark in a foot-note on p. 152, Wyclif seems to confound two quite different aspects of the enjoined penance; and I think it is as well to point this out, as tending more clearly to show the Roman Catholic point of view, and by comparison, Wyclif's also. Contrition, confession and satisfaction are three essential parts of Penance, as a sacrament; and by 'satisfaction' the penance given by the priest in confession is meant here. Without the *intention* at the moment of absolution to fulfil that penance, the absolution itself is null and void; and to neglect, still more to omit wilfully that fulfilment, is a sin that must be told in the next confession. So much for the *forgiveness*. But it does not follow that there is no further penalty to pay, because a sin is forgiven. That might indeed be, if the contrition were sufficiently intense, but in most cases a temporal punishment remains to be undergone, even when the satisfaction. i. e. the *penance* has been accomplished. Now, so far as I have been able to understand the Roman Catholic creed, indulgences bear upon satisfaction only in the latter sense, not in the former. And if anyone were to say that the penance imposed by the priest does away completely with all liabilities incurred by sin, it would follow that indulgences would be quite useless, for the penance imposed by the priest is requisite to the validity of the sacrament, and can be dispensed with by no indulgence, but only in a subsequent confession. If therefore Wyclif understood it in this sense, he would be proving a thesis against which no one ever said anything. On the other hand the shortest prayer enjoined by the priest is considered sufficient to render the sacrament *valid*. I of course do not allude to sins of theft, for which the priest has no right to grant, nor the penitent to receive absolution, without a sincere promise of restitution. There are also other cases in which, if a penitent does not make certain promises to prove his good will, no absolution can be given.

Another digression follows, in which the Pope is severely blamed for his attachment to temporal power; Bishops who are greedy for money, punishing sinners by yearly fines, are branded as hirelings and wolves; and a beautiful passage from Ambrose is quoted, to the effect that, in order not to fear death, we must live unworldly lives. Temporal lords, who are indifferent to the real good of the Church, also share in Wyclif's general blame. Traditions are

here worthless; it is their duty to take all temporalities from the clergy.

Ch. XI (p. 157—171) debates 1st, Whether public penance is right. Many arguments are brought forward in its favour. It is grounded on better authority than private confession. If we confess the same sins to several priests privately (which is allowed) the sin becomes in a manner public; and several priests can absolve one sin at once, and therefore hear confession at the same time Wyclif evidently leans towards restoring the severity of ancient times. "But," says he, "no general rule can be laid down. We must consider what is most to the penitent's advantage." This decision may be contrary to ecclesiastical law, but not to the law of Christ. Many think that the Roman Pontiff should be obeyed in all things; whereas different churches may have different customs. Some men prefer to communicate on Easter Sunday; others, on Maundy Thursday. Augustine advises the faithful to communicate every week; Ambrose inveighs against Pharisaical observances in such matters. The Pope has no business to interfere, and should be disobeyed by way of protest, as he exceeds his power, even though he may command us to do what is not wrong. God leaves us (p. 162) our liberty in a great number of acts. Man has no right to encroach upon that liberty, or we return to the bondage of the Old Law. Many other absurdities and blasphemies also flow from this principle.

Wyclif now takes into consideration three objections. 1st. If this doctrine be true, no vows are right. — No, not when it is clear that God no longer approves of them. An action is forbidden by the vow, because forbidden by God for a time, not forever. An act, good in itself, cannot be made criminal by human law. 2nd and 3rd. No Christian can make laws, and the Pope has no power to grant dispensations, on this hypothesis. — Not at all. Laws may be made, and also dispensations granted, provided they are in agreement with Scripture and do not diminish Christian liberty.

The second question (p. 164—168) is whether the secret of confession should always be kept. Here Wyclif replies by a very decided negative. We find mention of public confession alone in the Bible. All sins will be known at the Last Day; why not now? To reveal the secret would injure auricular confession: a good result. A confessor, knowing of an intended crime, ought to reveal it. In

many cases it happens, as a fact, that confessions are revealed with impunity; as for instance, in sleep, &c. Many inconveniences may happen to priests who obey the law of secrecy. It is a sacrament of the devil. Confessors should, by the bye, leave public sinners, and not remain their friends after a fourth relapse. Wyclif concludes by summing up his doctrine on private confession, in which he admits the 'power of the keys', but not as coming from Rome, through the Bishops; it comes direct from Christ, to those who teach the doctrine of Predestination.

The chapter closes with the solution of several other less important problems. 1st. Can penance be done in a state of mortal sin? No; for every deed done in that state is a mortal sin. Yet good deeds are of service; they lessen the punishment even of the castaway. 2nd. It is of no use to repeat the same sins again and again in confession. 3rd. Is the penitent obliged to accomplish the penance prescribed? Wyclif here accumulates a number of difficulties which he considers as insoluble from a Nominalist point of view. A penance is a universal, and therefore is *nothing*. 4th. There certainly is a spiritual affinity between the confessor and his penitent. St. Thomas denies this quite as decidedly as Wyclif affirms it. If it were so, he says the son of a parish priest would not be allowed to marry any of the parishioners (Suppl. 5. Th., qu. LVI, art. 2, *Ad Octavum*.) 5th. The question whether former sins return when a relapse into sin takes place is thus solved: As a 'fore-known' is punished for all his sins, they must necessarily return, but since the time and the act of falling into sin are different, they are not absolutely the same sins as before. Roman Catholic theology holds, on the contrary, that if at any time a man duly repents of his sins, they are forever blotted out. (S. Th. 3^a, qu. LXXXVIII).

Ch. XII (172—188) attacks rural deans with much severity, and points out the duties of Rectors and inferior priests. They are, if perverse, the sixth, seventh, and eighth classes of 'tormentors.' The rural dean's special duty is to impose fines upon such of the people as have fallen into the sin of lust; themselves prone to such sins, they encourage harlots, in order that their revenue may not suffer, like incarnate fiends. Their weapons are citations and excommunications. But they can easily be resisted, especially if the guilty party resorts to his own priest. Their claim to inflict fines or to excommunicate, after absolution has been given, is preposterous; for the man

is innocent. If one of them can inflict a fine for a sin that exists no longer, why not a thousand others? Parish priests should take no notice of these wolves, except to defend their flocks. Especially should they refuse to publish excommunication against one who has already done penance. Such fines are neither alms nor atonement; they are unlawful, because arbitrary. They indeed, by taking the money, remove the occasion for lust, but they cause other evils. Why should the sinner pay fines to one worse than himself, and who deserves to be severely punished?

The duty of the spiritual pastor is then laid down. He ought especially to avoid sinning against his flock. If he leaves them, it must be as Christ left the angels in Heaven, caring for their welfare. He ought to appoint a good vicar in any case, and never exact anything superfluous. We may not demand anything as our due, unless we work for it. The bad clergy is, like the Pharisees, given to outward righteousness alone. No one (p. 182) should accept a benefice, except for purely spiritual motives. The curate would do well to go preaching about the country, or at least in his own parish. He should avoid absenting himself on pretence of study, and be quite free from public affairs. He has no right to anything but alms. Tithes were exacted as dues only by the wicked sons of Heli. They are due to the priest only by God's justice, not by legal right. The best way to deal with a bad priest is to cut off his income by having nothing to do with him. As for the inferior priests, though too often worldly and given to the lusts of the flesh, they seem less rooted in malice than the higher orders of the clergy.

Ch. XIII (p. 188—203) is nominally against the monks, but is in reality a plea for mercy, in favour of the rebels in the then recent insurrection, who, it is known, were headed by the priest John Straw,¹ whose exaggeration of Wyclif's doctrines are notorious. Wyclif of course blames the excesses of the people, and regrets the death of Archbishop Sudbury (*lamentabili conflictu*, p. 190); but he considers both the Archbishop and the other members of the clergy, who perished with him, as richly deserving their fate. In short, he takes

¹ Johannes Straw, qui fuit post Walterum Tylere maximus inter illos. Walsingham II, 9.

exactly the point of view of those who call the excesses of the French Revolution 'a sort of wild justice.' He points out the fact that the clergy possessed superfluous riches; but he does not admit that they ought to have been put to death on that account. Rather let them live, but be deprived of their temporalities. The clergy, who had prompted the late war, were responsible for the great numbers of soldiery in the country, whom they irritated rather than appeased (pp. 191, 192). What had the Archbishop to do with the Chancellorship, that most secular function of all? He was evidently a traitor¹ (p. 194). If the clergy does not reform, we shall yet see worse disasters (p. 195). It must, however, be admitted that the punishment inflicted was excessive: 1st. In *degree*, the people having no right to take away life. 2nd. In *quality*. There was no form of justice, only a mere outburst of popular indignation. 3rd. In *manner*; for they did not punish according to the fault; they rebelled against the secular powers, and they did not wait to take the advice of the whole kingdom (pp. 196, 197). On the other hand, we must not forget their grievances. Let neither the secular powers, nor Rome, nor the clergy, any longer rob the people.

Wyclif has not yet hinted at pardoning the rebels, but in the answers to the objections that follow (p. 198—203) he shows his purpose clearly. 1st. What Wyclif proposes would diminish the royal prerogative. — No, for on the contrary the patience of Christ (*paciencia maioris iniurie*) increased His prerogative. So will it be for our king too. 2nd. Clemency would stand in the way of just punishment. — No, for God will punish them as they deserve, if they are left to Him. Besides, let the possessions of the clergy make good the losses of the secular lords, and we shall have compensation enough. 3rd. All fear of consequences would be destroyed, should the guilty escape. — Better filial than servile fear, replies Wyclif. Their punishment will in any case, whether summary or judicial, be the cause of much hatred and disunion in the kingdom. The king and secular lords, and the clergy especially, have been much to blame in the matter (pp. 200, 201). We should follow Christ's example of mercy.

¹ See Walsingham's account of the rebellion and the death of the Archbishop, who was accused by the rebels almost in those very terms.

Chs. XIV to XVII (p. 201—272) contain a vehement attack upon the Friars, who are the tenth class of 'tormentors'. We may pass over these pages rapidly, as there is little new in them. Wyclif here, as in *De Apostasia* (p. 29—31), but at much greater length, complains of the 'Friar-makers', who went about recruiting members for their Orders. Their advice may well result in damnation. We may advise to do virtuous acts, but not acts that are indifferent; still less, dangerous acts, as in this case, unless by special revelation. If the state of a Friar is holy, all Friars are necessarily virtuous. It is quite the contrary, though the possibility of their salvation is not to be denied (p. 207). All that is said of the great graces given to Friars entering, living, and dying in the Order, is false; and the practice of putting on a Friar's habit at the hour of death, is a blasphemous superstition. They should, it is true, supply the want of good parish priests; but even were they as fervent as in the beginning, they are far too numerous, and burden the nation. They often take heirs under age from their legal guardians; an abuse that should be punished by law, or by seizing the person of a Friar as a hostage for the person kidnapped. They exhaust the resources of the kingdom, and are practically independent of the secular powers. Formerly poor and acceptable to God, they have degenerated; and now the results of the wrong they do are felt by every class in the State. They are probably traitors and spies in every country where they live. They obey no one. Their rule is blasphemous, and can be of no use to the Church but by being completely abolished.

It is said in their favour (ch. XV, p. 209) that they follow Christ closely, are of great use to the Church, and therefore deserve our respect. — It is true that they live poorly, but that is not sufficient to claim brotherhood with Christ. Robbers do the same. They will not touch money, but they love it. The three principal defects of their Orders are, 1st, that they live together without reason; 2nd, that their communities are extravagantly rich; and 3rd, that they are excessively burdened with traditions. Their Founders would not know them; they have nothing left of the Order but the habit. Christ and His Apostles, far from burdening the country, worked with their hands. — A digression follows (p. 224—226) concerning the Sacrament, containing nothing new except the form, in the assertion

that the 'Accident-theory' is a heresy that blasphemes the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Christ's words against false prophets, who come in sheep's clothing, &c. are quoted and applied. The endowed monks, of whom but little was said in the proper place, are here blamed for their luxurious lives (p. 228). On p. 229, Wyclif replies to a question that many of his followers must have put to him. Since every good deed may be hypocritically imitated, how can we know that any deed is really, i. e. morally, good? for it has often been denied that the good done by monks and friars is any proof in their favour. Wyclif in reply draws a distinction between a judgment that is only probable and one that is certain. Every good deed *certainly* proceeds from a cause physically good, and may with probability be judged to be morally good, if no evil accompanies it. We should consider the whole tendency of a sequence of acts, and not judge private persons as we judge a whole Sect, nor set consent in the same category as deed. And under these restrictions, we may affirm that the whole clergy, the Friars especially, are corrupt; the latter being especially condemnable, because they flatter the Roman Curia, and often become Popes or Cardinals themselves. But they can truly exalt the Roman Curia only by obeying its laws, as embodied in the Decretals.

A long extract from a sermon of Fitz-Ralph closes the chapter (p. 232—238). Eight heads of accusation were brought by this Bishop against the Friars. 1st Against their rule, they beg when they have work to do and can do it. 2nd They do not follow their rule literally, as St. Francis commands, but evade it by glosses. 3rd They preach against the will of the Bishop to whom the diocese belongs. 4th They ought not to touch money, but they have a man who goes with them and collects it. 5th They preach without being duly examined, and the Friar who gets most money is sent to preach the oftenest. 6th Against their rule, they enter monasteries and private houses. 7th They do not observe Holy Poverty, but accept any quantity of small sums from poor people. 8th They wear costly habits, interfere in secular affairs, and disobey Papal laws, particularly as concerns the burial of seculars in their grave-yards; whence it is likely that they lie under an interdict.

Ch. XVI (p. 239—255) continues to attack the Friars. The Pope ought to abolish their Orders, which he can very easily do, by

means of a general dispensation from their vows. Wyclif avails himself of the objection that the destruction of the Friars would put an end to scholastic degrees in the University, to inveigh against the *Fratres pilliati*, or graduates among the Friars, who, as it appears, enjoyed certain privileges very likely to excite the envy of such of their brethren as were less intelligent or (according to Wyclif, p. 244. ll. 31—37) less fortunate than they: such as, for instance, exemption from preaching, from the Choir, and from all acts of obedience (*omne quod sonat in obedienciam*). So that, while they praise obedience, they make it the greatest reward not to have to obey! This is unscriptural in every way, as is also the fashion after which their General domineers over them (p. 246). An abrupt transition brings us again to the Eucharistic controversy, and Wyclif's condemnation in Oxford, and the 'Catholic Doctor' who spoke in Wyclif's favour, whom (in *De Apostasia, Introduction*) I have supposed to be Wyclif himself, though I am not quite sure of that now. It seems, however, that this hypothesis cannot be reasonably doubted. He more than once speaks of himself in the third person¹, and the arguments of the 'Catholic Doctor' melt into the text in such a manner that it is hard to see where they end and where Wyclif takes up the argument for his own part. There is no need to give the details of these arguments; the most striking of them have already been dealt with in *De Apostasia*. Wyclif concludes that the Oxford condemnation was a temptation of Satan, occasioned by ignorance of the interpretation of Scripture. (p. 250). The rest of the chapter contains nothing new.

Ch. XVII (p. 255—272) assails the door-keeper, and by door-keepers Wyclif means all those of the clergy who were not in Holy Orders. Two points especially are to be noted in this chapter: Wyclif's theory of Sacramentals (p. 257) and his protest against the employment of the clergy in secular affairs. — It is complained that the doorkeepers mix too much common water with the holy water that they distribute. Wyclif decidedly admits that a true Christian and a good priest have the power given by Christ to His disciples to cast out devils (as is done previously to the blessing of the water).

¹ Et sic dicit quidam debilis et claudus citatus ad hanc curiam De Citationibus frivolis c. 4. Buddensieg. W's Pol. Works, p. 556.

But as 'foreknown' priests have not that power, we must suspect that the water is not holy, if they do not follow Christ's law. A priest who sometimes does wrong abuses his power; if he continually does wrong, he cannot abuse it, for he has none. We should treat holy water with all due reverence (p. 259) yet without excess, avoiding exaggeration on both sides. As for consecrated oil, its adulteration is a very serious matter, since the oil is consecrated by the Bishop, made of costly ingredients, and used in Confirmation and Baptism: its impurity would interfere with the integrity of those sacraments.

Wyclif proceeds to point out the abuses concerning clerks (p. 261—272). Some of them do not really, but only nominally, belong to the clergy. But for such as do, the practice of employing them in secular charges, is without excuse, condemned by Canon law, and a dishonour to the Church. It is said to favour the prosperity of the realm; but it is contrary to Christ's law; and if the Canons forbidding it have fallen into disuse, that cannot be said of the law of Christ. And a man willing to be a traitor to God, the King of kings, may as well be a traitor to man also. It is impossible to serve both Christ and the king properly. Christ's service has to be abandoned. At least let them give up their benefices. This is argued to be impossible, for the King can only afford to pay them by means of those benefices. Here again is an argument against the temporal possessions of the clergy; an argument which the present wretched condition of the poor tends to strengthen. It is incomprehensible how secular lords can rob the poor as they do, seeing that the lands of the clergy belong to them by right, and would yield ever so much more than what the poor can give; and they would thus regenerate the clergy, now so corrupt, so neglectful of the people, so hated, and so unable to resist. Parliament should pass a bill to that effect; tallages should also be abolished, and the poor no longer robbed. As matters stand, secular lords are forced by circumstances to plunder their tenants, and thus indirectly to ruin themselves; and their own enemies move them to persecute the faithful as heretics. The chapter closes with a petition in seven points to the King and Parliament, summing up pretty nearly the whole of Wyclif's doctrine.

Ch. XVIII. After a few pages (272—276) devoted to the exposure of the misdeeds of questors 'the twelfth sort of tormentors',

men who went about the kingdom, it appears, collecting money, and dispensing indulgences from Rome, whom our author accuses of drawing more than £100,000 annually out of the kingdom (p. 274) the epilogue begins on page 276. His opinions concerning the perfection of the religious state are, he says, attacked; but he defends them by quoting Grosseteste. All private religions, like civil government, savour of sin. It is hard to be saved in them. Why prefer the foolish remedies of men to those given us by Christ (p. 279)? In Christ's law no ceremonial observances are perpetual. It is that which constitutes the difference between it and the rules of Sects (p. 280), Church endowments, &c. We deny that any hard and fast lines ought to be laid down; they often have absurd results. Christian liberty should be maintained. It is impossible to bind oneself down perpetually to do acts that may at times be lawful and at times not.

Wyclif's doctrine of temporalities is, he says, denounced; yet it is necessarily true. His opponents have no right to bring the actions of Saints as precedents, until they do the works that those Saints did. The whole world feels the abuse of Church property, and the king should redress this abuse. The parable of the unjust steward should be explained in this sense, and the miracle of the loaves and fishes (when Christ gave the bread to the Apostles to distribute) does not contradict this explanation. It is a sin for any of the clergy to trouble himself about the future, for which God will provide; more especially is it a sin for those Orders that are strictly vowed to poverty.

Finally Wyclif says he is accused as a heretic, not really on account of his opinions in the Eucharistic controversy, but because of his adversaries' rage about the two other points. He is, however, ready to retract any error he may have made, if shown that is an error. The contradictions of the different Sects are then briefly touched upon, and Wyclif's opinion stated once more. The Eucharist is Christ's body, "non substantialiter, sed supernaturaliter". As for Confession, I have already noticed his declaration that it is necessary, but not absolutely so, and his protest against the compulsory nature of Pope Innocent's statute, which was not founded on the Gospel.

In conclusion, he says, referring to the three books *De Simonia*, *De Apostasia*, and *De Blasphemia*, that, should he have erred in

those works, he humbly asks God's forgiveness, and submits to the correction and teaching of any creature whom it may please Him to appoint for that purpose.

Such is the close of Wyclif's last great work. In it he appears, as in most of the other short tracts written during the latest period of his life, unflinchingly attached to the principles expounded by him before his condemnation at Oxford, and inspired, if possible, with still greater vehemence in his denunciations than before that date, and still more unsparing in his exposure of all that was, or that he considered to be, an abuse.

CAPITULUM PRIMUM.

29* | Restat succincte de blasfemia pertractandum. Est autem blasfemia *insipiens detraccio honoris domini*. Et dicitur a *blas* (quod est insipiens) et *femina*, que quasi rane *blaterant*, communiter nimis stulte.

Committitur autem blasfemia tribus modis. *Primo* modo, quando deo attribuitur quod sibi non convenit; ut ponendo quod deus nimis severe puniat, vel quod sit iniquitas apud deum. *Secundo* modo, cum remouetur a deo quod sibi convenit; ut legitur de Rapsace 4^{to} Reg. 18 et 19. Et *tercio* modo, quando pure creature attribuitur quod deo proprium est. Et ad istum sensum Judei sepe inposuerunt Cristo blasfemiam, ut patet Matth. 9, 16 et Joh. 10. Et isto modo Herodes, Act. 12 legitur blasfemasse; et principes populi sunt proni incidere in istam blasfemiam.

Et patet scrutanti intime quod, sicut simonia et apostasia consecuntur ad quodcunque mortale, sic et blasfemia, que convertibilis est cum illis. Nam, eo ipso quo quis peccat mortaliter, vult vitam istam esse bonam, et per consequens non reprobata, sed approbata a deo: quod est manifesta blasfemia. Vult enim implicite attribuere deo auctorisationem peccati, quod propter

1. Incipit liber de blasfemia duodecimus in ordine C. Explicit de officio pastoralis incipit eiusdem de blasfemia. Capitulum primum D. 2. succinte C. 4. femia AB. 5. rana latrat A; *ib.* blaterant E. 6. tribus modis blasf. CDE. 7. attribuitur D; *corr.* E. 9. apud D; *ib.* modo *deest* BCDE. 10. Rapsate C. 11. Rēp (= *quarti regum*) A; *quarti* DE. 12. attribuitur D; *corr.* E; *ib.* ad *deest* A. 14. et *deest* ABDE; *ib.* Herodes *deest* A. 17. symonia CDE. 18. consequuntur C; *ib.* quodlibet C. 20. peccator blasfemat *in marg.* C; *ib.* vlt CDE; *ib.* illam ACDE. 21–23. et per consequens non reprobacionem, sed approbacionem a deo, quod est manifesta blasfemia vult enim implicite deo attribuere auctorisationem peccati A. 22. vlt CDE. 23. deo attrib. CDE; *ib.* auctorizationem D.

3. I should have preferred the other reading, but the context renders that inadmissible. Wyclif's works contain other etymologies that betray ignorance of Greek. See *De Apostasia*, p. 1, l. 21. 17. See *De Apostasia*, p. 1, opening paragraph.

Blasphemy may be defined as a 'foolish detraction from God's honour',

and is of three kinds:

1. when we ascribe unjust attributes to God;

2. when, like Rabshakeh, we deny his real attributes;

3. when we ascribe God's peculiar properties to His creatures, as was done in Herod's case.

Rulers are much exposed to this sin.

Simony and apostasy imply blasphemy under each of the foregoing heads;

1. inasmuch as the man who sins mortally wishes God to authorize his evil act;

2. because, hoping for impunity, he derogates from God's justice, which must fall on every sinner;
3. because his acts implicitly make his own will a supreme law.

We may argue thus for every mortal sin.

St. Augustine supports this view.

He says: Let our acts praise God as well as our voices;

it is of no use to praise God with the tongue if you blaspheme Him by an intemperate life. In this sense St. Paul calls himself a blasphemer.

Many think the root of this blasphemy to be in the Roman Curia, because Antichrist says he is Christ's vicar,

bonitatem non potest deo competere Wult eciam implicate a deo auferre iusticiam debite puniendi, que repugnat patri et filio. Et tercio, wult implicate dare homini voluntatem supremam, non subiectam, vel regulandam voluntati superiori: quod deo est proprium. Et idem⁵ deducitur multipliciter in quocunque mortali peccato quod homo potest inordinate velle aliquod positivum, quo iustificato cum modo volendi, sequitur talis absurditas. Iste autem est modus loquendi famosus sanctorum; et tunc patet dicta sententia.

Et per hec intelligi potest Augustinus super illo¹⁰ psalmo 146 "*Laudate dominum, quoniam bonus est psalmus*". "Qui", inquit, "psallit, non sola mente psallit; sed, assumpto eciam quodam organo quod vocatur psalterium, accedentibus manibus voci concordat. Vis¹⁵ ergo psallere? non solum vox tua sonet laudes dei, sed opera concordent cum voce tua. Cum igitur voce tua cantaveris, silebis aliquando. Vita sic canta, ut nunquam sileas; vita tua semper laudet. Negocium agis, et fraudem cogitas? De bono opere tuo laudas deum, et cum²⁰ blasphematur deus de malo opere tuo, opere tuo blasphemas deum." Et sequitur: "Si vero modum vescendi immoderacione voracitatis excedis, et vinolencia te ingurgites, quantaslibet laudes dei lingua sonet, vita blasphemat." Et isto modo loquitur Apostolus Thym. 1^o vocans²⁵ B. se ipsum "*blasfemum*", quia erravit a lege domini. Et¹ Tim. 1, 13¹ utinam nostri prepositi non plus errent!

Videtur autem multis ex fide scripture et facto hominum, quod in Curia romana sit radix huius blasfemie, quia homo peccati anticristus insignis loquitur quod sit³⁰ summus Cristi vicarius, in vita et opere inter mortales sibi simillimus. Et cum, secundum Augustinum, omnis

1. competere CE; *ib.* wlt CD. 2. auferre a Deo DE. 3. wlt CD; *ib.* homini implicate dare C; implicate homini dare DE. 4. regulam C. 5. voluntate E; *ib.* deo deest C. 6. petito (*in marg. corr.*) A; petito C; peccato *corr. in marg.* petito D; peccato *cui superscriptum est* petito E. 7. quia *pro* quod E; *ib.* $\alpha\theta$ *pro* aliquod E. 8. autem deest ABDE; *ib.* est et C. 9. potest intelligi C; *ib.* Augustinus *in marg.* A. 10. laudare *in marg.* C; *ib.* est deest A. 11. assumpto D. 12. opera tua CDE; *ib.* tua deest A. 13. alii *pro* aliquando A. 14. opere tuo *in marg.* B; deest A; opere tuo *linea rubra delet.* E. 15. blasphemare deum opere *in marg.* C. 16. lingua A; lingua tua CDE. 17. Thy A; 1. Thimo. 1. C; prima Thimotei primo DE. 18. in *pro* a B. 19. errant B. 20. radix blasfemie Roma *in marg.* C. 21. in signis *linea divisum* E. 22. simillimus D.

12. St. Aug. *Enarratio in Ps. CXI. VI* (Migne, t. XXXVII, p. 1899).

talis ex psalmi discordia blasfemat eum in vita, sequitur
 quod et omnis talis sit radix blasfemie; imponit enim
 deo expresse vitam sibi persimilem, quod a deo tolleret
 omnem laudabilem dignitatem. Implicat eciam totum
 5 evangelium esse falsum; ipsum enim affirmat Crístum
 vixisse vitam pauperem, mundo odibilem, quia laboriosam
 et humilem, cunctis suis fratribus ministrando, ut hic
 supponitur. Hic autem vivit omnino contrarie, et ad
 hoc promovet omnino suos discipulos; ita quod de
 10 cristianismo, seducto per tales aspirantes ad seculare
 dominium (quod Crístus in se renuit et interdixit suis
 discipulis), intelligi potest illud Ysa. 3^o: *Effeminati do-*
 4 *minabuntur eis.* Mos enim feminarum est, quo ad opera
 virilia ociari, in lautis esilibus et stramentis mollibus
 15 delectari, et post ista ac ornamenta splendida ex excel-
 lencia sui nominis blaterare. Sic effeminantur anticristus
 cum suis satrapis. Nam tamquam alter costree residet
 20 in suo sumptuoso | pallacio, cuius sumptus non solum
 male sunt tyrannice capti, sed pessime, quia blasfeme
 20 de bonis pauperum summa yppocrisi spoliata. De lau-
 ticiis vero, de pulvinariis et eorum lectisterniis, clamat
 mundus. Et non solum carte plumbate sed codices
 testantur eius excellenciam blasfemam, post ornatum
 stultissimum ac monstruosissimum; primo cameraliter
 25 (more femine) cum suis complicitibus intimatam, et post
 late per mundum publice proclamatam. Sic quod, ubi
 Crístus non habens ubi caput suum reclinet, visitavit
 pedestris humiliter civitates et patrias quas sanando in-
 20 struxit, Anticristus trahit ad ociantes pedes sue superbie
 totum mundum, quem non reficit, sed inficit; non sanat,
 sed contaminat; non instruit in lege domini, sed seducit
 in scola blasfemie anticristi.

and, as
 Augustine says,
 discord between
 words and
 deeds is
 blasphemy.

Such a one robs
 God of his true
 honour, and by
 implication
 makes the whole
 Gospel false.

It affirms Christ
 to have lived in
 poverty and
 unworldliness;
 but Antichrist
 lives an entirely
 different life.

So much is
 Christianity
 depraved by
 those aspiring to
 secular rule,
 which Christ
 Himself
 refused and
 forbade it to
 His disciples,
 that Isaiah's
 words are now
 fulfilled
 concerning the
 effeminacy of
 our rulers:

Who, like
 women, delight
 in luxury and
 pride;
 the world
 proclaims, and
 we have written
 evidence of
 their luxurious
 feasts and their
 feminine love
 of show both in
 private and in
 public.

All this is the
 very antithesis
 of Christ's
 teaching.

2. et deest CDE; *ib.* inponit ACDE. 3. per similitudinem A.
 4. implicat ewangelium esse falsum *in marg.* C; implicat DE. 5. Crístum
 affirmat C. 8. anticristus *pro* autem A. 11. *qn* *pro* quod C.
 12. Ysa. 3^o A; Ys. 3 C. 12, 13. effeminati qui dicuntur dominari *in*
marg. C. 13. *after eis in marg.* nota; morem feminarum B; mos femi-
 narum in papa est factus *in marg.* C. 14. strametis A. 15. hac A.
 15, 16. extollencia C; *ib.* suis D; *ib.* blacterari A; laterare C; blaterare DE.
 17. *Between* suis and satrapis, a blank space A; *ib.* aliter D; *ib.* cosdive B;
 cosdras E. 19. tyrannice DE; *ib.* blasfemie B. 21. pulvinariis DE.
 22. Et deest DE. 23. eius blasfemium A. 24. cameraliter *in marg.* D.
 26. *quid* *pro* mundum A. 27. Cristo contrarius antipapa *in marg.* C;
ib. ubi deest C. 28. pedes (= *per edes*) C; pedes ADE.

17. *Costree, cosdive, codras.* Probably Cosroes, known in
 Church History as a persecutor. See *De Christo et Antichristo*,
 Buddensieg, Polemical Works of Wyclif, p. 683, l. 20.

Every morning the cardinals must go to him with a numerous and splendid train of horsemen; and strangers are ordered to beg for leave to kiss his feet; which, called blessed, are not so, because of his worldliness.

Christ, after His resurrection, forbade Mary to kiss His feet; Antichrist exacts this.

Yet Christ's feet and His followers' are blessed and immortal; not so those of the members of the Devil.

Before His resurrection, Christ allowed Himself to be touched, that sins might be effaced or diseases cured. But the pope has not this motive. Christ's forbidding Magdalen to kiss His feet, whilst allowing

Unde cardinales, proximi complices huius hominis, docentur valde mane accedere ad suam presenciam, cum numerosa sumptuosa et monstrosa familia equitatus, non propter loci distanciam vel difficultatem itineris, sed ad ostendendum magnificenciam suam mundo et contrarietatem sui ad Cristum cum suis Apostolis. Exteris vero visitantibus hunc patrem iniungitur quod, ipso sedente in altum, in ornatu splendido, eciam usque ad pedes cum genuflexione petant humiliter pedum oscula beatorum. Quod si per "pedes" in scriptura significatur *affeccio* mundane glorie, ac non beata sed reprobata sit *affeccio* mundane glorie ac eius factorum, nichil falsius quam talem hominem esse beatum; et per consequens beatitudo sua non ebullit ad pedem vel ad talum. Cristus enim mandavit Magdalene volenti post resurreccionem osculari, ut assolet, pedes suos: *Noli, inquit, me tangere, nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum.* Et anticristus blasfeme exigit nedum pedum oscula, sed declamacionem blasphemam quod organa eius abiectissima sint beata. Cristus enim noluit feminam osculari pedes suos post resurreccionem, immortales indubie et beatos, ut tollat presumptionem blasphemam a ministris false fingentibus se esse Cristi vicarios. Pedes autem cum Cristo ascendencium ad gloriam sunt beati, et non esca vermium, membrum putridum et fetens sudor affectionum membri diaboli.

Perante autem Cristus pertulit sed non presumpsit pedes suos cum lacrimis osculari a femina, ut patet Luce 7^o; quia devota contricio et parciun Cristi corporalis taccio delent crimina viatoris. Ideo ante mortem viando propter faciendam multiplicem sanitatem voluit tangi a feminis, ut patet Luc. septimo et octavo. Sed cum deficit ista causa in papa, non subest ratio quare sic extollitur super Cristum. Sed Augustinus, super secundo capitulo Joh. omelia 121^a notat quod Cristus post resurreccionem voluit tangi a feminis; cum Matth. 28 35

Joan.
XX, 17

Luc.
VII, 38

Luc.
VIII,
43-48

1. huius mundi hominis D.
2. attendere B.
3. cum *deest* A;
- ib.* numerosa A; *nūmosa* CD; *ib.* equitus C.
9. genu flexio A.
10. Anticristi condicio in pedibus beatis per contrarium in *marg. sup.* C.
11. mundane glorie A.
12. factorum A; stercorum CDE.
14. ebullit *corr.* E.
- 14, 15. Cristus prohibet pedes osculari magdalene in *marg.* A.
- 18, 19. blasphemiam *corr.* A.
22. miseris *pro* ministris ADE.
24. in *pro* ad C.
25. dyaboli DE.
29. crimina delent C; delet *corr.* ex delent E.
30. sanitatem multiplicem C.
32. deficit CDE; *ib.* suberit B.
33. cum *pro* sed A.
- 33, 34. 20^o *pro* secundo B.
35. affeminis *pro* a feminis A.

34. St. Aug. In Joan. Evang., tr. CXXI (Migne, t. XXXV, p. 7957)

legitur quod, postquam Cristus apparuit mulieribus et it to others, has
 XVIII, ait: *Avete, ipse accesserunt et tenuerunt pedes eius*; ideo, as Augustine
 9 secundo, Augustinus fideliter asserit quod in hiis verbis says, a hidden
 meaning;

D. dictis Magdalene latet absconditum sacramentum. Et she representing
 5 tercio, videtur dicere quod tam allegorice quam tro- the church of
 pologice fuit sensus domini Magdalene singulariter the Gentiles
 nunciatus, quod ipsa figurante ecclesiam gencium, fuit who were not
 ipsa ecclesia post ascensionem plenarie convertenda. Et yet converted,
 and being
 quantum ad tropologiam ipsa Magdalena imperfecte besides too
 much attached
 to Christ as
 man.

10 consideravit Cristi humanitatem, non considerans quomodo
 fuit equalis patri divinitus. Ideo fuit exhinc prohibita
 ipsum tangere; quasi diceret, *quia nondum ascendi* in
 consideratione tua *ad equalitatem patris*, ideo, ut istam
 imperfectionem cognoscas et corrigas, *noli me tangere*.

15 Sed Crisostomus videtur dicere quod apparuit Marie
 in consimili corpore quale habuit ante mortem; et ideo
 disparente dote claritatis, credidit ipsum resurrexisse ad
 vitam communem ducendam cum discipulis, sicut ante.

Unde et voluit dominum familiariter tangere, sicut et
 20 prius. Sed hanc opinionem repellit, quasi signando
 causam quare apparuit corpus suum non esse gloriosum,
 per hoc quod ostendendo veritatem resurrectionis sue
 per quadraginta dies fuit informaturus ecclesiam ante
 suam ascensionem: unde monuit eam ire ad apostolos,

25 quos vocavit "fratres suos". Quod si isti sancti iam
 viverent, videntes blasphemiam exactionem osculorum pedis
 romani pontificis, considerantes quod mos est auctoris
 scripture gravidare ipsam multiformi sententia, con-
 sonanter dicerent quod hec mulier, effeminatos signans,
 30 prohibetur ad talia blasfema oscula anhelare.

Cum enim duplex sit osculum: scilicet corporale
 30* (licitum | sive illicitum) et spirituale, quod primo habe-
 bitur in beatis, expedito in ipsa corporali osculo, remanet
 spirituale osculum in patria expectandum. Sed osculum

35 pedum pape caret omnimoda ratione, cum neutri parti
 proficit ad salutem; nam osculans ex culpanda avaricia

Chrysostom
 says that His
 words dispelled
 the false opinion
 of Magdalen,
 that He would
 live on earth
 as before, and
 asserted that
 He was there
 only to form
 the Church.

If those Saints
 lived now, they
 would, giving
 a third sense to
 these words, say
 that *Touch Me*
 not forbids us
 to kiss the
 Pope's foot.

Kisses being
 either corporal
 or spiritual,
 these are
 inexcusable in
 either sense.

1. They are
 harmful to him
 that kisses,
 whether his

2. ten'ut pro tenuerunt C. 5, 6. tropoloice A. 7. nunciatus AC;
 ib. ecclesia A. 9. tropoloyam A; ib. magdalene C; ib. perfecte (in
 erasum) E. 9, 10. consideravit deest ACDE. 17. disperante A;
 desperante C corr. in marg. D; ib. resurrexisse D. 19. familiariter A;
 ib. et deest CDE. 22. resurrectionis D. 23. informaturus CDE.
 25-27. sancti — romani pontificis alia manu in marg. add. D.
 26. blasphemiam A. 27. considerantes D; ib. auctoris CE. 28. gravi-
 dari A. 30. anhelari A; anhelare B. 31. osculum duplex in marg. C;
 ib. scilicet deest C. 33. cum expedito C; super lin. add. DE; cum E;
 ib. ipso pro ipsa BCD. 33, 34. remaneat spir. osc. alia manu in marg. D;
 remaneat ABCD corr. E. 35. pedum deest DE.

motive be
interest or
mistaken
devotion;

2. and very
wrong in him
that is kissed,
who is not
equal to Christ,
nor above the
Apostles.

We must either
deny the Gospel
or believe this.
Christ counsels
us to take the
lowest place at
the wedding
feast, when
called:
Which is meant
not of bodily
but spiritual
calling, place,
and feast,
as Grosseteste
points out.

The wedding
feast is the
betrothal of
Christ with his
Church; the
guests are
called by the
sacraments and
by preaching;
and to take the
lowest place is
to consider
oneself the least
among the elect.

vel ex devocione blasfema, omnino culpabitur. Quia
autem tales cecati et palliantes factum, ac excitantes
ad facinus, sunt cause huius yppocrisis, ideo Job 34 XXXIV,
dicitur, *quod deus regnare facit yppocritam propter* 30
peccata populi. In osculato est omnino culpabile, quia 5
non potest parificari Cristo, ut tantam dignitatem reci-
piat. Quod si parificatur apostolis, non excedat honores
huiusmodi ultra quam illi susceperant ad augmentum
sui meriti ex confessione humili, et ad utilitatem populi
honorantis. Ideo illi, instar Cristi, ceperunt benefacere 10
dignificantes se per opera quoad deum, et mundanos
honores respuerunt. Anticristus autem facit omnino
contrarium. Ideo vel oportet negare evangelium, vel
credere quod hec facit ad maximum sui obprobrium, Luc.
nam Luce 14 mandavit Cristus: *Cum vocatus fueris ad XIV, 8*
nupcias, non discumbas in primo loco, ne forte honoracio et seq.
te sit invitatus ab illo, et veniens is qui te et illum invi-
tavit, dicat tibi: da huic locum; et tunc incipies cum
rubore novissimum locum tenere. Constat autem ex fide
et testimonio sanctorum quod Cristus loquitur de voca- 20
cione, de locacione et de cenacione spirituali, non cor-
porali; quia, ut deducit lincolniensis, aliter quilibet
fidelis affectaret in nupciis carnalibus locum novissimum,
et foret in eis intollerabilis contencio, inordinata invita-
torum cumulacio, et omnino doctrine Cristi irrisio. Ideo 25 E.
per nupcias intelligitur sponsacio Cristi et ecclesie, que
perpetuitate complebitur in cena novissima. Ad has
quidem nupcias multi sunt vocati, pauci vero electi, ut Matth.
loquitur Cristus Matth. 22^o; quia quociens interno instinctu, XXII,
sacramentis ecclesie vel predicacione evangelii ad Cristi 14
amorem et ministerium sunt instructi, tociens a domino
sunt vocati. Ille autem discumbit in loco novissimo,
qui pie reputat se minimum electorum. Debet autem
omnis Cristianus reputare se electum, cum debet habere
spem, eciam si fuerit reprobatus. Et ista posicio potest 35

2. osculanti [et] osculato nocet quomodo in marg. C. 3. ad deest B;
ib. causa DE; ib. yppocrisis DE. 5. vero est pro est C. 6. Cristo alia
manu in marg. add. D. 8. huiusmodi deest A. 9. et deest DE; ib. po-
puli deest DE. 10. Cristi deest C. 12. fecit C; ib. omni A. 13. after
ideo, vel in marg. add. D. 14. hec deest B. 15. Cristus mandat C;
mandat Cristus DE. 17. te deest D; in marg. add. E; ib. fuerit A;
ib. v̄eis v̄eies pro veniens D; v̄eies E. 20. sanctorum testimonio C.
22. lincolniensis DE. 23. corporalibus CDE. 26. Residere in novissimo
loco in nupciis in marg. A; vocacio ad nupcias spirituales in marg. C;
ib. ecclesie D. 26. 27. que perpetuitate in marg. add. E. 28. electi C.
31. vel pro et A; ib. instructi deest A. 32. discubuit A. 34. se repu-
tare electum DE. 35. debet pro potest A.

in reputacione omni Cristiano competere, quia Paulus, But in the Day of Judgment he who now takes the lowest place shall be exalted, and the proud man forced to take the lowest place -- Hell.
 qui vidit archana, reputavit se apostolorum minimum. Sed in die cum evacuabitur imperfectum quod ex parte
 5 locacio, cum quilibet predestinatus correspondentem ad suam humilitatem et meritum erit in gloria exaltatus; unde superbus, presumens de dignitate acquisita humanitus, erit indubie, si non resipuerit, ad *locum novissimum* ad magnam sui confusionem in die iudicii condemnatus;
 10 locus novissimus istius ordinis est locus inferni, de quo locus non exeat *donec reddat quadrantem novissimum* ut dicit Cristus Matth. 5°. Illum quidem locum omnes
 Matth. V, 26 tales superbi eligunt in effectu. Si ergo papa reputat se patrem sanctissimum, quomodo presumptive eligit
 15 locum primum? nec dubium, nisi papa isti consenserit, posset faciliter destruere istum stilum.

Si dicatur quod secundum ius vicarium Cristi et Petri et tradiciones humanas in tali loco preficitur; quantum ad primum, patet ex dictis alibi quod blasfema pre-
 20 sumptio est illud asserere; imo, si ita est, faciat fideliter et moderate similiter eorum officium; quia aliter, ut dicit Augustinus, ex discordia vite et usurpati nominis est blasphemus. Quantum ad secundum, patet quod titulus cesareus vel humana tradicio est impertinens beatitudini
 25 aut repugnans. Quomodo igitur non patet populo quod papa, propter mundanam exaltacionem et temporalium accumulacionem, tam studiose appetit illum statum? Et patet ex dictis quod tunc ex lepra symonie inficit gregem suum. Nam si propter necessitatem et pro-
 30 fectum ecclesie sic affectat, quare non vivit vitam Petri, cum hoc foret facilius et ex fide meritorius undique?

O si regnum nostrum post mortem Urbani Sexti non foret seductum per satrapas, sic quod liberet se a tali
 35 capite et *generacione hac pessima* (ut dicitur Act. secundo)

Act.
II, 40

1. repugnacione A; *ib.* cum pro omni A. 3. in die iudicii B; *ib.* evacuabitur CDE. 5. locutio D; *ib.* correspondentem C. 6. exaltat A. 7. acquisita C; adquisita *corr.* ex quesita E. 8. in die C; *ib.* resipuerit CD; *corr.* E. 11. nec pro donec A. 13. tales in marg. add. D; *ib.* superbie D. 14. pater sanctissimus in marg. C; *ib.* non omnes MSS. 16. possit C. 19. blasfemia C. 20. ymmo CD. 22. discordia vite usurpatum nomen in marg. C. 24. impertinens CD. 25. ergo C. 26, 27. mundana exaltacio temporalium accumulacio quid arguunt etc. in marg. infer. C. 28. symonie A. 29. necessitatem B; meritum pro necessitatem ACDE. 31, 32. undequaque C. 33. Sexti A. 35. actuum DE.

How then can the Pope set himself in the first place, if he thinks himself holy?

Objection: The Pope has a right to this; 1. as vicar of Christ; 2. by virtue of tradition

But the first point is mere blasphemy, unless he lives like Christ; and as for the second, human traditions have nothing to do with holiness, or are even opposed to it, engendering worldly pomp, and the leprosy of simony.

If England, after the death of Urban VI, would throw off the belief that

obedience to the pope is necessary, the reign of Antichrist would be ended. It is enough to love Christ and keep His law, by whom alone we shall be saved.

abiciatque istam blasphemiam quod est de necessitate salutis facere fidelium obedienciam et duci per talem capitaneum, patenter destructa foret anticristi blasfemia! Sufficit enim fidelibus quod ipsi pure diligant et teneant legem Cristi; quia (Act. 4) dicit fides apostolorum quod *non est aliud nomen sub celo, in quo oportet nos salvos fieri, nisi nomen domini Jesu Cristi*. O si fideles fratres cum aliis constanter publicarent istam sententiam, |

Act.
IV, 12

F.
30^b

And then the kingdom might obey any man recognized by his works to be Christ's Vicar: this would be the right obedience.

For every movement of the Christian people should proceed from God as a cause, and His Minister removing each obstacle.

Difficulties in the way; strength of the other party, 1. by the promotion of prelates, 2. the defence of endowments, etc.,

postposito omni amore privato, preciosa foret mors sic decedencium ex purgacione gloriosa ecclesie ab antiqua blasfemia, et ex amocione obstaculi tardantis ecclesiam ab ordinacione perfecta primeva! Tunc enim posset regnum nostrum obedire cuicunque docto esse vicario Cristi per opera, sicut debuit obedire sancto Petro, non in fraudulenta temporalium subtraccione, non in membrorum anticristi subdola perfeccione, nec in blasfeme instruccionis seminacione, sed in spiritualium legis Cristi predicacione. Ista enim foret vera obediencia Cristi vicario, a qua saltans et blasfemia priorem exigens indicat, ut sic, se esse vicarium anticristi. Tunc enim fructificaret fides in regnis ut antea, amoto obstaculo diaboli prohibente. Oportet enim motum populi, tamquam motum elementi vel mixti, non ex se fieri, sed a deo generante et ministro dei prohibens removen- 20

Est autem pars anticristi fortis et multiplex, prohibens istum ignem ascendere: ad quod procurant prelato- 25
rum et clericorum promocio, dotacionum et tradicionum humanarum defensio, et consuetudinis huius abusus inveteracio. Sed rex celorum et dominus veritatis est

- | | | | | |
|--|---|---|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
| 2. fidelium facere CDE. | 3. potenter destructa B. | 4. ad 4 in marg.: sufficeret fideli quid. | 5. actuum DE. | 6. nomen aliud C. |
| 7. domini nostri C; ib. Jesu deest B. | 9. mors preciosa in marg. C. | 12, 13. regnum nostrum posset C. | 13. cuilibet B. | 14. sicut CDE; ib. debuit debuit A. |
| 18. obediencia vera quando esset in marg. C. | 16. perfeccione DE. | 17. institutionis B. | 19. salutans E; | |
| ib. priorem blasfemiam C; blasfemiam priorem DE. | 21. regiminibus; corr. in marg. A; ib. ante ea ACE; ib. ammoto A. | 22. diaboli et A; | | |
| 23. mixtum D; corr. E. | 24. prohibens istum in marg. superiori add. | 26, 27. clericorum et prelato- rum CDE. | | |
| 25. accendere corr. ex ascendere E. | 28. consuetudinis E; ib. abuse in marg. CDE. | | | |

1, 2. *De necessitate salutis*. It is well to notice these words, for the torrent of Wyclif's invectives against the See of Rome might lead us to mistake his position. What he objects to is not so much the obedience given to the Roman Pontiff as the belief that it is indispensable for salvation. A few lines further, he speaks of England *obeying* any one who should be truly found to be the vicar of Christ. 19. *A qua saltans*. This seems to be a somewhat strained metaphor, amounting to the English 'breaking from'.

forrior principe huius mundi; dicit nobis, inquam, in fide quod quicumque clericus vel episcopus plus appreciatur favorem vel lucrum mundanum quam publicationem veritatis legis domini, ut sic, inhabilitat se ipsum ad ⁵ beneficium ecclesie, et ipsum occupans tamquam blasphemus et hereticus nocet plebi. Et idem est iudicium de religioso, qui propter defensionem sue dotacionis sive religionis hoc promovet, vel tacet vecorditer veritatem. Nam act. 5 de Anania et Zaphira legitur deum, ^{Act. V, 5 et seq.} propter zelum sue ecclesie, pro minori crimine ambos ad mortem subitam iudicasse. Et quantum ad tercium, patet quod vetustas in malo non arguit facti laudabilem bonitatem, cum lucifer et anticristus eius vicarius, ymmo vetustas peccati persone salvande, sunt continuata diucius ¹⁵ quam dicta iniquitas. Non respiciamus igitur longitudinem consuetudinis sed eius repugnanciam legi Cristi. Unde potens est deus illuminare et excitare mentes paucorum fidelium qui constanter detegant et moneant, si digni sumus ad destruccionem huius versucie anticristi. Sic ²⁰ enim, incipiendo a femina, convertit per paucos apostolos totum mundum.

- G. Sed triplex blasfemia huius capitis contra trinitatem beatam est parumper amplius reseranda. Prima est de potestate abscondita; secunda de sapientia simulata; et ²⁵ tertia est de ficta benevolencia ad edificacionem ecclesie.

Quoad primum: cum desunt miracula, lucifer non habet medium sibi consonancius quam in isto falsare subdole potestatem; unde cecatur ecclesia, credendo quod eius vicarius habet in dispensacione et absolucione ³⁰ et indulgenciarum concessione tantam preeminenciam potestatis quod nichil valet in istis, nisi quod ipse concedit vel approbat. Unde correspondenter isti ficcioni statuuntur leges quas fingunt ut ewangelium observandas. Veritas quidem est quod vel nichil habet potestatis

and 3. the long standing of these abuses.

But: 1. No member of the clergy who seeks worldly gain, is better than a heretic; 2. a 'religious' doing the like, i. e. defending his order's endowments, is in the same case; and 3. Lucifer, Antichrist and men living in sin for many years show that we should consider, not length of years, but greatness of evil.

A detailed exposition of the three chief points of the prevailing blasphemy.

I. *Hidden Power.* Though men believe in the dispensing, absolving and indulgence-granting power of the Pope, he has no more than any other priest, if equally good.

1. perfectior pro: torrior C; *ib.* principe mundi *in marg. add.* D; *ib.* inquam nobis CDE. 2. inabilis ad beneficium quis *in marg. sup.* C. 3. appreciat E. 4. actum DE; *ib.* de Anania dicitur A; *ib.* Saphira C. 12. quod deest A; *ib.* vetustas multitudo longitudo non arguit sed Cristi *lex. in marg. sup.* C. 14. contaminata C; *in marg.* contaminata D; *sub linea additum est:* contra mandata E. 16. consuetudinis E. 17. paucorum mentes C.

22. triplex blasfemia in { potestate
sapientia
benevolencia } anticristi *in marg. infer.* C. 23. parum C; *ib.* reserando A; reservanda C. 25. est *in marg. add.* A; *ib.* benevolencia ADE. 26. luciferi A. 27. simulare CDE. 28. subdole deest C. 29. in pro et CDE; *ib.* absolucione deest A. 31. in istis deest B.

ecclesiastice in casu quo sit precipuus anticristus, vel habet pariter cum aliis Cristi sacerdotibus eque bonis.

As for dispensations in the matter of vows, these vows were made either wisely or foolishly.

If wisely, no dispensation can be wise; if foolishly, the sooner they are unmade, the better; and any priest can do that. If it is unreasonable to dispense with vows, not even an angel could do it; if reasonable, why ask the Pope?

As for human laws, they are null unless based on Christ's laws and right reason; still, they must be set aside with prudence, on account of the danger of such steps.

A layman who follows Christ's counsels has as much merit as a 'Religious', for Christ's Apostles took no vows.

Et quoad dispensaciones, specialiter cum voto, credit catholicus quod votum vel est sapienter vel stulte commissum et continuatum. Assistente vero sapientia in continuacione voti commissi, foret stulticia dispensare. Si autem stulte commissum est, foret prudencia ipsum celeriter dissolvere et de commissionis stulticia penitere: ad eius remissionem et contriti absolucionem sufficit quicumque sacerdos habens claves ecclesie. Non enim subiacet potestati hominis vel angeli dispensare cum religioso vel alio, nisi aput deum sit patens ratio, et apud subiectum utilitas dispensandi. Et sic quicumque stulte voverit, debet sine petita pape dispensacione votum tale dimittere. Et si solus ille habet prudenciam ad consulendum in talibus, est pro consilio requirendus. In quo, si persona vovens vel alii facilius petendi excesserint vel parificati fuerint illo dimisso, ipsi (consulendi gracia) sunt petendi. Et quantum ad leges hominum que videntur istis contrarie, patet quod non ligant nisi de quanto in lege Cristi fundate fuerint, consone rationi. Et secundum istam glosam condicionatam debent intelligi quod, si legi dei sint consone, tunc habeant robur suum. Et ille quem deus inspirando visitat practiset prudenter apparencia mundo inconueniencia que secuntur. Nec debet verti fideli in dubium quin tantum meretur secularis ex tanto fervore caritatis complens Cristi precepta atque consilia, sicut religiosus privati ordinis | adinventi, secundum votum obedienciam et alios ritus perficiens; quia aliter Cristus et eius apostoli imprudenter vel improvide tantum fructum religionis preterissent. Non enim legitur apostolos vel eorum discipulos vovisse tantam obedienciam, fecisse talem professionem vel servasse talem tradicionem humanam in suo modo vivendi, sed racionabiliter respuisse.

1. casum B; in casu in marg. add. D; ib. quod CE; q^a corr. ex in quo D. 2. habet pro tunc A; ib. partem pro pariter CDE. 3. in marg.; nota de voto B. 4. catholicus D. 5. commissum C. 6. dispensari A. 7. vel ACDE. 8. cuius D; corr. ex P E. 9. ecclesie D. 10. vel pro cum A. 11. alie A. 12. dispensacio cum voto in marg. E. 13. Stulte promissum in marg. C. 14. resurgendus A; recurrendus CDE. 15. parva pro persona A. 16. fundate in lege Cristi C. 17. gloza condicionata in marg. C. 18. dominus DE. 19. sequuntur CE. 20. furrore DE. 21. mandata pro precepta DE; ib. sicut D. 22. uel (et alia manu corr.) D; ib. invide ABC. 23. apostoli non leguntur vovisse in marg. sup. C.

Cum igitur eorum religio exemplaris fuit perfeccior, sequitur quod nobis foret perfeccius servire deo similiter.

11. Item, si votum repetitum factum homini post votum factum deo habeat tantum virtutis; non est ratio quin
5 per idem votum multiplicatum augeret religionem et meritum. Illa ergo foret excellens nova religio, in qua foret continue innovata professio. Si dicatur quod hoc foret superfluum, revera evidencius foret nedum superfluum sed stultum obligari sic homini post votum in-
10 finitum solemnius factum deo.

Item, nemo prudenter subicit se homini obligatione perpetua, nisi propter informacionem vel commodum reportandum ab eo. Si informacio pensatur, prelatus est sepe stulcius et ducens suum discipulum in pre-
15 cipium. Si ergo rudis discipulus in arte mechanica non obligatur magistro nisi ad tempus, quousque ars sit perfecte cognita, videtur stultum sic obligari obligatione perpetua. Si vero lucrum temporale pensatur, quia illud vel mundana prosperitas sit causa precipua:
20 manifestum est quod comittitur ydolatria blasfema.

Item, votum vel promissio obediencie facta deo est infinitum melior, sic quod ista superaddita non valet, nisi quanto promovet vel habilitat Cristianum ad illam. Sed obligacio adiecta sepe ad hoc difficultat vel im-
25 pedit, ergo contempni debet ut stolidi. Maior supponitur ex fide. Nam omnis homo, sicut et omnis natura creata naturaliter, dicit se obedire deo, quod est eis obligacio maxima. Cristianus eciam dicit in oracione dominica se dimittere debitoribus debita sua; et profitetur ac
30 vovet se credere in deum. Sicut sacerdos dicit cottidie: *da mihi intellectum domine, et scrutabor legem tuam;*

Vows are considered superfluous after the taking of solemn vows; if so, Baptism is the most solemn vow of all, and renders all others superfluous.

It is folly to submit to the lifelong guidance of a man often of inferior talent; if this submission is interested, it is idolatrous blasphemy.

A promise of obedience to God is above all, and no other has any value, except in so far as it aids the fulfilment of the first; for every creature exists only to that end; our every day prayers, if said with intention, have the effect of a vow; and

1. ergo B. 2. servire simpliciter deo perfeccius in marg. C; ib. ipseccius C; ib. domino B; ib. simpliciter pro similiter C. 3. Iterum E. 5. votum multiplicatum si augeret religionem in marg. infer. C. 7. innovata professio in marg. C. 8, 9. revera — sed stultum in marg. super add. post revera add.: sic E. 10. solemnius CE. 11. prudens C. 12. commodum CDE. 14. discipulum suum C. 15. igitur pro ergo CDE. 17. sic stultum C. 18. vero deest BC. 19. quod id AB; quod illud DE. 20. comittitur DE. 21. promissum C; ib. promissum deo factum multo solemnius in marg. infer. C. 26. sicut CDE. 27. eius A. 30. quotidie C; quotidie E. 31. michi C; ib. domine deest A.

10. The Baptismal vows, which are infinitely more solemn, since they are *commanded* as necessary for salvation; while the others are only evangelical *counsels*, and therefore belong to a quite different species. One vow is *to follow Christ closely enough not to lose Heaven*; another is *to follow Him as closely as possible*.

no action that
linders us from
doing our first
duty, can have
any merit.

Now these
small
communities of
monks tie down
their members
and hinder them
from doing
God's work;
the first founder
of these sects
ought to have
thought well
before he
brought them
into being.

Objections:
1. There were
sects under the
Old Law and in
Christ's time. —
True, but we
are no longer
under the Old
Law; and we
nowhere read
of vows made
to men.

et custodiam illam in toto corde meo. Nec dubium
quin quodlibet tale votum vocale debet esse infinitum
solempnius quam votum faciendum cristiano. Et iterum,
certum est quod in istis fit deo obligacio, votum et
professio, non obstante carencia tradicionis humane; 5
et hoc si fidelis dicit effectualiter, meritorie, et non
derisorie, ista deo. Nec vertitur fideli in dubium quin
obligacio facta homini non valet nisi de quanto iuvat
ad observandum obligacionem factam deo, quia de tanto
est opus hominis meritorium placens deo. Et quod 10
minor sit vera patet ex dictis. Nam talia conventicula
ligant religiosos, vel faciunt eos timidos ad dicendum
veritatem in causa dei: faciunt eos gravidatos peccato
publico ex consensu, et difficultant ad discendum et
servandum tradiciones hominum. Nam, suspensa tota 15
ocupacione talium in pura observancia legis dei, quis
dubitatur quin hoc foret meritorius observanti? Mirum I.
itaque est quod diabolus sophista introduxit istam blas-
femiam, cum caret auctoritate scripture, ratione et colore.
Existens ergo in inicio quo primus Cristianus istam 20
religionem instituit, examinaret rationem, auctoritatem
et utilitatem sollicite antequam induceret talem sectam.

Non enim movet quod in lege veteri fuerunt religiosi,
ut filii prophetarum; in tempore Cristi fuerunt reli-
giosi, ut pharisei, saducei et essei; quod in veteri lege 25
nazarei sanctificabantur cum voto, ut dicitur Numeri 5^o. Nun-
Nam volens sic iudaizare notaret exemplar, ne addendo VI.
vel diminuendo deficiat in auctoritate exemplaris; quia 18—
modica declinacio in principio facit culpam. Religio
autem quam Cristus instituit in lege sua docet quod, 30
dimissa observancia veteri vel adinvencione nova, sit in
illa autorisacione facili et delectacione segura fidelibus
militandum. Unde hec adinventata novitas, habens unum
laudabile, habet mille culpabilia a diabolo indubie adin-

2. quodlibet A; *ib.* de voto religiosorum vocaliter in *marg. sup.* C;
ib. ex se infinitum esse C. 3. solempnius E; *ib.* faciundo A. 4. fit
corr. ex fit E. 8. obligacio facta homini de quanto valet in *marg. sup.* C.

13. et faciunt A. 14. after discendum vel; et alia manu corr. D.
15. hominis B. 17. dubit A; dubitat DE. 18. sophista diabolus C;
sophista dyabolus DE. 20. ergo deest E. 21. 22. utilitatem et aucto-
ritatem C. 22. sollicite C. 24, 25. ut — ut deest AB; *ib.* religiosi
deest DE. 24. quin pro in D; corr. in *marg.* E. 26. nasarei DE.
27. iudicare A; iudaysare C; iudaisare DE; *ib.* volunt quidam iudayzare
arguendo a simili cum non sit precedens in *marg.* C. 29. a pro in C.
31. vel deest C. 32. auctoritative CDE; *ib.* facilliter CDE. 33. bonum C;
corr. ex unum DE. 34. mille culpabilia in sectis in *marg.* C; *ib.* dya-
bolo DE.

venta. Ut in lege veteri voverunt deo et non homini, in adinventionibus modernis, voverunt stulte homini et non deo.

Nec movet dictum Anselmi *de similitudinibus*, quia intelligit de illo religioso qui ex maiori caritate observat perfectius legem Christi; quod licet quandoque contingit in privatis ordinibus, non illi sunt per se causa sed observancia legis dei. Ideo ceca est evidencia, si *multi sancti et scioli processerunt ex istis ordinibus, ergo sunt laudandi*. Laudemus, inquam, gratiam dei, qui in tam presunto periculo conservavit sic homines propter observanciam legis sue.

Nec potest fundari quod obediencia talis, votum vel professio, per se facit ad perfectionem status vel meriti. Sed si ex cautela diaboli faciat bonum quandoque per accidens, in maiori parte ex inmixtione stulticie facit malum. Nam, ut docet Thomas, secunda secunde questione 186, in religionibus illis homo obligatur ad multa sub gravi pena, que ommittendo non peccaret alias vel venialiter. Quis ergo difficultaret se tali religioni irrationabili, cum posset faciliter et libere militare sub benedicta et omnino rationabili simplici lege Christi? Quamvis enim deus, temptando homines, precipit et vult ipsos elicere sensum et visum ad quem deus non vult quod ipsi compleant in effectu (ut patet de Abraham Gen. 22) tamen nichil precipit nec ad aliquid obligat hominem facere nisi quod vult sub pena peccati fieri; quia aliter liceret — ymo homo deberet — declinare mandatum domini: posito de blasphemo possibili quod deus occuparet servum suum continue ipsum mandando facere quod non debet fieri, sicut scola anticristi docet

2. Anselm speaks in favour of 'Religious' men. — But he speaks of men who observe Christ's law more perfectly: which may happen even among them.

3. The vow by itself does not sanctify and may even do harm accidentally; for many venial sins become mortal in 'Religion'.

What God commands, He always wishes to be done by man; or it would be our right, or even our duty, to disobey Him.

2. adventionibus C. 4. Anselmi A; anshelmi C; corr. ex anshelmum DE. 5. religiosus verus in marg. C. 7. persone (p^a) A; corr. ex persone D. 8, 9. nulli sancti processerunt ex ordinibus pro quo deus laudetur, sed quare in marg. inf. C. 11. presumptum periculum in marg. C. 15. dyaboli DE; ib. facit C; corr. ex faciet DE. 18. 168 B; ib. Obligatio aggravat sub pena ad ea que alias possent non fieri in marg. sup. C. 19. obmittendo AC. 20. igitur C. 21. dum BCDE; ib. faciliter libere in marg. C. 22. legi DE. 23. ergo B; ib. preci C. 25. vult CD. 26. nec pro nichil E; ib. aliud A. 27. vult CD. 28. ymmo C. 30. mandando ipsum C. 31. sicut CDE.

4. De Sancti Anselmi Similitudinibus, a work by Eadmer, professing to be compiled from notes taken by him "ex ore B. P. Anselmi". There is a chapter entitled: *Similitudo inter monachum et angelos et Deum* (Migne, t. CLIX, p. 650) many others too sound the praises of monastic life. 17. St. Thomas. *Summa Theol.* 2^a 2^a, qu. CLXXXVI, art. 9, 10.

Christian liberty is praised both by St. Paul and by Augustine; but private religion destroys this, and Christ grants dispensation therefrom, as from a foolish vow; so ought His Vicar to do.

The pope would do well to order all priors of Orders to give a general dispensation to their subjects; which would not interfere with their claustral life.

And this would unite the Church by assimilating the secular with the regular clergy.

suis prepositis licere precipere. Quod meritum ergo reportaret in talibus neutris tota obediens, cum non peccaret vel venialiter hec ommittens? Ideo comendat apostolus, Gall. 2^o et 5^o; libertatem quam habet cristiana religio, talia facere sive omittere. Et Augustinus ad 5 Possidonium *de adulterinis coniugiis*: "Ea sunt in nostris officiis graviora que, cum licet nobis etiam non impendere, tamen causa dilectionis impendimus". Sic ergo videtur quod privata religio obligat prius liberum ad serviendum homini, ut remissius et illiberius serviat deo suo. Si ergo 10 quis fecerit talem obedienciam servo sathane, licet vocetur sacra, Cristus tamen dispensat et eius vicarius dispensare debet celeriter, ut talis obediencia diaboli dissolvatur; quia Ecclesiastici 5^o scribitur: *Si quid voristi deo, ne moreris reddere; displicet ei*, inquit, *infidelis et stulta promissio*. 15

Galat. II, 4; V, 13

Eccle. V, 3

Sed quid est infidelius quam quod, ex tali religione inventa humanitus, causatur meritum ad quod non stat quemcunque pure secundum religionem Cristi attingere? Papa igitur solveret colligationes impietatis si, virtute sacre obediencie debite deo et ei, preciperet cuicunque 20 preposito talis privati ordinis dispensare cum omnibus suis subiectis, ut pro sua periodo non ad talem obligationem, professionem, obedienciam, vel votum perpetuum astringantur. Hoc enim est possibile, et foret multis meritorium; ymmo, possent cum illo vivere in 25 communi claustraliter, habere omnia in communi, et servare cuncta liberius que forent de perfeccione ordinis Cristiani. Unde, quia secundum Thomam (ubi supra), solum castitas, obediencia et paupertas sunt de essencia cuiuscunque privati ordinis; cum igitur hec communiter 30 pertinent cuicunque sacerdoti vel pure clerico, patet

2. neutris in marg. add. D. 3. obmittens A; ib. commendat CDE.
5. obmittere A; omittere CE. 6. possidonium C. 8. igitur C.
9. privata religio ad quid obligat in marg. sup. C. 10. illiverius D;
corr. E; ib. sic igitur C. 12. dispensa C. 13. diaboli obediencia C;
dyaboli DE. 14. in marg. nota B; ib. ne ne C. 15. inquit ei CDE;
ib. infide C. 19. ergo D; ib. soluet C; sollveret E. 21. sibi ADE.
22. privati deest A. 23. perydo C. 26. posset ABE. 28. ad perfec-
cionem DE. 29. quia deest omnes MSS. 31. ergo CDE; ib. hoc CDE.
31. pertinet omnes MSS.

6. St. Aug. *De Conjugiis Adulterinis, ad Dollentium*, l. I, cap. XIV (Migne, t. XL, p. 459). 20. It seems here that Wyclif contradicts himself when he speaks of the 'sacred obedience due to the Pope'. The contradiction does not exist in reality, however, the passage only shows that Wyclif would have considered a Pope who thought like himself as the 'real Vicar of Christ.' Or he may be arguing from his opponents' point of view.

quod rationabilis dispensacio et ecclesie magna unicio foret cum irreligiose captivatis taliter dispensari, ut patet Ecclesiastici 5°. Si papa tardat in isto, deus dispensat, ut votum irrationabile dimittatur. Non enim complet votum sed aggravat peccatum, qui vovit im- provide fratrem iniuste occidere vel quicquam aliud imprudenter, et complet. Ideo lex Cristi precipit quod talis voti irrationabilis caveatur complecio, et de obligationis stulticia fiat contricio. Sic enim sine dispensacione humana cessavit apostolus a voto blasfemie. Ymmo, videtur quod papa vel quicumque qui posset taliter captivos liberare, nedum peccaret graviter, sed committeret blasphemiam omittendo. Tunc enim unice purificaretur cristiana religio, et abiciens sanctos pre- positos privati ordinis studeat facta cristi et faciat illis factis plene similiter.

Nam Bernardus, ut supra exposui, ponit eundum ordinem monachorum qui fuit laicorum conversorum in Jerusalem habencium omnia in communi. Anzelmus eciam, in epistola quadam que sic incipit "Cristianorum" sic loquitur: "Est" inquit "quedam generalis professio prime similis, quam nos docuit dulcissimus pater et frater noster piissimus Jesus; id est monachatus, quod idem est apud nos quod fuit discipulatus apud apostolos"; et probat posterius quod eam rite recipiens mundatur ab omni crimine actuali. Ista, inquam, professio stat in castitate contra carnem, in paupertate contra mundum et in obediencia facta Cristo contra diabolum. Quod si aliquis Cristianus professus non fuerit, aut fidelis in professione non consummaverit, non superabit ad celi gloriam triplicem inimicum. Unde Lanfranchus, in quadam epistola, scribit: "Si ego Lanfrancus manu

Should the Pope be slow to grant such dispensation, God will grant it; for the vows ought not to have been made.

Authorities quoted in favour of Wyclif's view: Bernard compares monks to the early Church; Anselm speaks of a general profession of monachism similar to that of Christ's disciples; which Wyclif understands as the promises of every professing Christian.

Lanfranc holds that spiritual danger justifies withdrawal from a monastery.

1. ordinis primatē quomodo dispensarentur in marg. sup. C. 2. dispensari B; dispensare CDE. 5. vivit C. 6. quicumque pro quicquam C. 7. imprudenter E. 11. ymo DE. 12. liberare taliter captivos C; liberare totaliter captivos DE. 13. committeret E; ib. omittendo DE; ib. unite E. 14. obiciens CDE. 16. sanctis C; corr. ex factis DE. 17. Bernardus CDE. 17-19. ut supra — Jerusalem in marg. add. D. 17. ponit in marg. add. E. 18. laicorum CE; conversorum alia manu add. E. 19. hunc inde pro habencium A. 20. quadam deest CDE. 22. persone CDE; ib. piissimus D. 23. id est deest B; ib. monachus A; monachatus id est disciplinatus in marg. A. 25. ab omni mundatur C. 26. professio in quo C. 28. et pro in C; ib. diabolus DE. 30. consumavit A; consummaverit corr. ex confuauerit C. 31. Lanfrancus in marg. B; Lanfranchus in marg. C.

19. De Apostasia, p. 3. 20. I can find no letter extant that begins thus. 32. Lanfranc. Ep. LX. Ad Rudolphum Abbatem (Migne, t. CL., p. 549); Bened. ed. 329.

propria me de aliquo monasterio non recessurum iurasset, viderem autem quod ibi animam meam salvare non possem, statim exirem, nec periurii crimen incurrerem."

The fictive power of the Pope, by which he commands angels and regulates things of the next world, would be far better employed in enjoining the Superiors to command nothing against God's law.

Papa, inquam, qui fingit sibi tantam potestatem inesse, laxaret ipsam in isto ad edificacionem ecclesie. Legi enim 5 ex quadam bulla pape Clementis quomodo mandavit 32^a angelis paradisi quod animam sic decidentis in purgatorio absolutam ad gaudia perpetua introducant. Et statim post: "volumus ex consensu fratrum nostrorum cardinalium, quod si aliqua persona rediens de indul- 10 gencia predicta, instigante diabolo, peccato consenciat | M. et in eo peccato perseverante contingat eum mori ratione peccatorum que antea comiserat et sibi virtute anuli fuerint absoluta et indulta, nolumus quod pena inferni sibi aliquatenus inferatur, nisi ratione peccatorum 15 que post adventum fuerint perpetrata". Iste, inquam, papa, qui tam imperatorie mandat angelis et tante videtur dispensare contra veritatem legis divine, posset faciliter mandare prelati quod non obligent suos subditos dissone legi dei, specialiter cum hodie mundus in 20 ipsos tantum invaluit, quod impossibile sive difficile est ipsos servare paupertatem vel obedienciam deo suo.

II. False Wisdom. As is the Pope's power, so is his wisdom, which he must have to govern the Church; the proof is that he governs neither himself nor his people by Christ's laws.

Quantum ad blasphemiam contra verbum, patet quod papa dicit se tacite habere sapienciam supra omnes alios mortales ad ecclesiam regulandum. Deus enim non 25 committit sibi curam ecclesie sue, nisi infundat sibi claves sciencie ad officium istud necessarie. Et sicut potestas predicta false fingitur, sic et ista sciencia, ut patet ex duplicitate regiminis; nec ipsum regit nec populum secundum regulas legis Cristi. Per hoc enim, et non 30

1. non deest A. 5. laxaret papa religiosos ad ecclesie edificacionem in marg. inf. C. 6. qua A. 6, 7. Clemens angelis mandavit ha in marg. C. 7. decedentis A; corr. DE; decidentis D (corr. ex decedentis); decedentis corr. ex decidentis E. 7, 8. purgatorie A. 8. in marg.; Nota blasphemiam cuiusdam bulle papalis B; ib. perducant B. 10. reddiens AC. 11. dyabolo CDE. 13. ante ea ACDE; ib. commiserat C. 14. volumus A; nolumus CDE. 15. aliquatus A; aliquatenus DE. 17. caute pro tante C. 19. oligent D. 20. dimissorie A. 21. tantum in eos C; ib. impossibile C; mundus invaluit in religiosis in marg. sup. C. 23. blasfemia in sapiencia in marg. C. 24. manifeste pro tacite C; manifeste habere tacite (manifeste in marg. add.) DE. 20. non deest CE. 21. ut pro nisi E; nisi (vt alia manu corr.) C. 23. et deest C; ib. sententia pro sciencia D; sciencia corr. ex sententia E. 30. Jesu Cristi C.

16. This may have been a spurious Bull. The doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church is that the eternal penalty of sins that are absolved is for ever blotted out; so that a man going to hell after falling into one mortal sin since his confession, could only suffer for that sin. The will of the Pope has nothing to do with this.

per verba ficta, crederetur sibi inesse vera sciencia; sicut per opera perversa creditur inesse apostasia atque stulticia. Illi autem qui nituntur fingere claves ecclesie non esse scienciam discernendi et sanandi morbos ovium, 5 sed nudam potenciam, fingunt, ac si dicerent deum suum esse potentem et non sapientem: sicut diffamatur diabolus. Nos autem, sicut distingwimus patrem a filio, nec unum posse esse sine alio, sic in pastore Cristi vicario non datur potestas regendi sine sciencia; nec 10 e contra. Sciencia autem in qua oportet ipsum precellere, est fides scripture, cum noticia legis dei sit requisita ad regimen animarum. Non loquor autem de sciencia disputandi, sed de noticia beatitudinem sibi et populo acquirendi: que sciencia, sicut in fuit apostolis, 15 sic et regimen animarum.

Tercia blasfemia contra spiritum sanctum est ficta benevolencia, qua vicarius anticristi mentitur se jura Cristi defendere, ac debita sponse sue exigere, non propter affectionem quam habet ad temporalia, sed 20 propter salutem anime detinentis, et propterea versatur totum regimen ecclesie circa ista. Sed ista duplicitas (quam spiritus sanctus effugiet) ex hoc convincitur, quod deficit potestas pape auferendi ista terrena que vendicat a proximo subtrahente. Deus autem, si tantum 25 appreciaretur has temporalium possessiones, daret vicario suo potenciam ad illas acquirendum et servandum, eciam invito adversario impugnante. Sic enim dat suis potestatem acquirendi et servandi virtutes, invitis hostibus; cum virtus per paciencia in iurie inimici acquiritur, 30 et quesita non perditur nisi gratis, eciam toto exercitu diabolorum et hominum renitente. Defectus igitur pape querendi et servandi temporalia docent apostatas quod non in tali eorum possessione beneplacitum fuit deo. Aliter enim oporteret concedere blasfeme quod in bonis

To say that the keys imply power without wisdom is an absurd fiction; the Vicar of Christ must have both; the knowledge of Holy Writ, not scholastic, but practical.

III. *Feigned benevolence.*
The Pope pretends that his love of temporal power proceeds merely from charity and zeal for the Church's rights. But if these possessions were necessary, God would never allow them to be taken from him, any more than His grace from His servants.

The Pope's want of success shows that God is not pleased with this temporal power.

2 sicut enim C; *ib.* et C; *ib.* opera perversa signa apostasie in marg. sup. C. 6. sicut A. 7. diabolus DE; *ib.* sicut deest B; *ib.* distigwimus D; *ib.* a filio twice A. 8. esse deest A. 10. que sciencia et potestas requiruntur ad clavem in marg. inf. C. 14. acquirendi C; *ib.* sicut A. 16. ficta benevolencia tertia blasfemia in marg. inf. C. 17. benevolencia ACDE; *ib.* mtr D. 19. per pro propter C. 19-20. sed propter — sed ista in marg. inf. alia manu add. D. 22. sanctus deest C. 23. populo pro pape A; auferendi E. 26. ad illas potencias DE; *ib.* acquirendum C. 27. pugnante C; impugnante C; impugnante alia manu add. D. 28. acquirendi C; *ib.* eciam invitis CDE. 29. in iurie C; in alia manu add. D; corr. E; *ib.* acquiritur C. 31. dyabolorum E; *ib.* renitente D; remittente E. 32. Temporalia cumulat papa non secundum deum in marg. sup. C; *ib.* doceret CDE; *ib.* apostotas D. 33. inerit C. 34. blasfeme concedere C.

que deus plus ponderat fuit inprovidus ordinando remedia.

The whole life of Christ condemns this greed of temporal lucre.

Secundo, contra veritatem finguntur mendacia, cum vita Cristi docet tam verbo quam opere quod aufugit detestans in se et in suis vicariis tale dominium. Qua fronte igitur blasfeme finguntur ista debere pape competere jure Cristi? Si igitur iste due persone tolluntur, necesse est spiritum sanctum tolli. Ideo inevitabiliter sequitur quod papa non amat salutem anime subditi sed sua stercora; quia, deficientibus illis, non laborat more apostoli lucrificare animabus, ut patet de nationibus barbaris convertendis. Nec tantum sollicitat fulminare censuras pro crimine sicut pro temporali stercore, cum crimen pro temporalibus faciliter summe simoniace potest emi. Et hec ratio quare prudentes divisi a nobis nolunt duci regimine talis ducis. Caucius enim sequeretur Cristum, fugiendo hanc generacionem pessimam anticristi, cum subditi sunt ei consentanei ex consensu. Et tantum inveterata malicia invaluit, quod unius simplicis momentanea rebellio parum proderit, cum satraparum suorum persecucione sit statissime extinguendus.

We should refuse to obey such a leader; but the rebellion of one man alone would be promptly crushed.

It is safer to fly from this generation in spirit and wait for Antichrist to be destroyed by a miracle.

Ideo videtur tucius a generacione ista saltem in mente aufugere et ad proteccionem Cristi confugere, reliquendo destruccionem anticristi cum suis satrapis dei miraculo. Scimus quidem quod oportet ut viis nobis absconditis istud eveniat, sicut scimus quod *personarum acceptio non est apud deum; sed in omni gente vel loco qui ipsum dilexerit, acceptus est illi*, et eo acceptior, quo fuerit tradicionum anticristi et complicum suorum detestabilior. Seminacio itaque blasphemiarum et fructus sui modi crescendi docet patule quod minera blasfemie ita jacet.

4. signantur A. 5. aufugit D. 5. in (post et) deest C. 6. ergo CDE; *ib.* populo pro pape C. 7. prime B. 9. animam vel salutem B; anime subditi salutem C. 10. stercora subditorum conuincitur amare papa in marg. inf. C. 12, 13. Censuras non fulminat pro crimine sed pro stercore in marg. sup. C. 13, 14. pro — pro in marg. sup. add. D. 14. facillit C; *ib.* symoniace E. 15. prudenter C; corr. ex prudentis DE. 16. enim deest B. 19. momentanea rebellio C. 21. suarum E; *ib.* extinguendus E. 22. age'nanonē C (sic); *ib.* istam C. 23. aufugere E. 24. dei miraculo relinquere C. 21. nos pro ut viis A; hiis corr. B; viis CDE. 22. sicud D. 28. erit est C. 31. quod deest A.

15. Allusion to the Western schism.

CAPITULUM SECUNDUM.

- A. Ulterius restat detegere ramos huius blasfemie. Nec
dubium quin omnis consentaneus, cooperans, defendens
vel consulens, omnis eciam auctorisans sectas ut illud
5 foveant vel defendant, sicut omnis ocians a reprehensione
vel spirituali iuvamine ad destruendum hanc sectam
Cristo contrariam: omnis enim, inquam, talis est ramus
vel adiacens huic arbori maledicte. Et sic pauce vel
nulle secte sunt inter nos, quin sapiant eius fructum;
10 mille autem sunt meandri reputati pro nichilo, per quos
sathan introducit maiora scelera, ut sunt 1. tradicionum
humanarum exaltacio, 2. scole legis Cristi depressio et
3. in malo sub apparencia boni coniuracio.
1. Cautela quidem diaboli est sub simulacione yppo-
15 critica sanctitatis introducere sectam suam. De primo
dixi alibi diffuse quomodo lex pape contenciosa subtrahit
sub fuco sanctitatis ab informacione, ab execucione et a
dileccione legis dei, cum tamquam contraria sese diri-
munt. 2. In legis Cristi depressione sunt mille cautele
20 diaboli, ut sunt pro gloria scole in disputacionibus
morosa occupacio, pro humana gloria contrariacio, et
(quod pessimum est) legis Cristi depravacio; ut nostri,
inter bona que seminant, dicunt quod scriptura sacra
secundum maiorem partem sui est summe heretica et
25 blasfema. Et horror huiusmodi distrahit multos ab atten-

The branches
of blasphemy
are formed by
all those who
in any way
consent to it.

Three causes of
great crimes,
1. the exaltation
of traditions,
2. the abasement
of Christ's
School, 3. the
conspiracy of
evil under the
appearance of
good.

Tricks of the
devil;
hypocrisy, vain
scholastic
disputes,
quarrels for
glory and
corruption of
Christ's law.

1. capitulum etc. *deest* A; capit. sec. *deest*, sed prima litera capituli
sequentis coeruleo colore picta est, in marg. numerus "2" apparet C;
Inscriptio *deest* sed in marg. numerus "2m" rubro colore pictus D; In-
scriptio *deest* in marg. "2m" Pro prima litera V spatium relictum est E.
3. sicut D; ib. ocians a reprehensione in marg. C. 6. destruendam DE;
ib. istam pro hanc DE. 7. inquam *deest* B. 10. sex pro sunt D; corr. E;
ib. reputandi AB; corr. D; in marg. E. 11. scelera maiora in marg. C;
ib. 1 *deest* ACD. 12, 13. 2, 3 *deest* ACD; in marg. BE. 13. in *deest* B.
14. 1 *deest* ACDE; dyaboli DE; cautela diaboli in marg. C. 16. diffuse D;
ib. lex pape in marg. C. 17. a *deest* AB. 18, 19. diminuit C;
derimunt AB; sed in marg.: diminuunt E. 19. legis cristi depressio in
quo in marg. C; ib. 2 *deest* ACDE; in marg. B. 20. dyaboli DE.
22. dampnacio pro depravacio E. 23. scriptura sacra contempnitur
quare in marg. sup. C.

Evil under the
semblance of
good, as shown
in the doctrine
of the
Eucharist.

It is idolatry to
adore as God
what is not
God; and they
absurdly say
that the Host
is God; this is
the greatest of
all lies.

The more
favoured the
people, the
more abject the
sign
worshipped, the
more precious
the thing
blasphemed by
that worship,
the worse is
the idolatry.
Every idolater
thinks he
worships God,
yet does not
please Him, for
the same reason
as the
worshippers of
the Host.

cione legis dei, dirimit eius auctoritatem ex varia multi-
tudine glosatorum, et ad tantum extraneat logicam
scripture quod nullus modus loquendi est illis abieccior.
Et de isto patet diffuse alibi. 3. Quantum ad tertium patet
quod pars anticristi tot habet complices, quorum qui-
dam subtilius et quidam expressius sunt contrarii legi
Cristi; ut in sacramento sub pallio sanctitatis sunt
hereses et ydolatrie simulate, ut patet de sacramento
altaris. In qua materia si ydolatre sunt quicunque qui
adorant creaturam non deum tamquam deum, patet
quod tam de clero quam populo multi sunt idolatre:
cum multi credunt et adorant hostiam (que de facto
est panis in natura et corpus Cristi in figura) ac si esset
naturaliter et idemptice corpus Cristi et sic deus, cum
notum sit quod corpus Cristi est Cristus et per con-
sequens deus noster, ut patet in materia de incarnatione.
Et tamen ad tantum ydolatre nostri insaniunt, quod
dicunt non esse aliud naturaliter corpus Cristi in celo
glorificatum et objective beatificans cives celi, quam est
hostia quam sacerdos conficit, tractat et manducat; et
sic de aliis inconvenienciis, que recitavi paganos de-
ridendo deducere. Nec potest ista impossibilitas heretica,
ad quam sequitur deum non esse et omne aliud incon-
veniens excusari; quia deus veritas odit omne mendacium:
ergo multo magis tantum mendacium de se ipso. 25

Item potest committi blasfema ydolatria colendo crea-
turam abjectam non deum tanquam ipsa sit deus: ergo,
posita aliqua ydolatria, oportet concedere istam ex
peculiaritate populi, ex abiectione signi culti, et ex
preciositate corporis blasphemati esse ydolatriam gra-
vissimam. Item nullus est fidelis ydolatra quin fingit B.
se deum suum colere devote in suo ydolo; sed quia
devocio est mendax, ydeo non placet deo veritatis.
Cum ergo eadem sit ratio in tali cultu, videtur quod
sit ydolatria perhorrenda. Nec dubium quin ex defectu 35

4. diffuse D; *ib.* 3 *deest* ACD; *in marg.* BE. 5. habet tot CDE.
6 expressius subtilius A. 7. pallio AC. 8. de ydolatria circa sacra-
mentum *in marg.* A. 9. scilicet *pro* si A. 10. idolatria circa euka-
ristiam *in marg. inf.* C. 11. *word effaced after* quam A; quam de CDE;
ib. ydolatre DE. 12. et *deest* A. 13. cave *in marg.* C. 14. ydempti-
ce CDE. 15. *post est scriptum erat* corpus C. 16. in materia *in*
marg. add. D. 18. essencia A. 21. recitant B. 22. impossibilitas D.
24. dominus *pro* deus E. 25. igitur C. 27, 28. ergo posita aliqua
ydolatria oportet concedere *deest* C. 29. obiectione ABC. 31. in-
fidelis CE; *corr.* ex fidelis D. 32. colere *corr.* ex collere A; collere
deum suum C. 33. ideo E. 34. igitur CDE. 35. defectus instruc-
tionis de eukaristia tangitur *in marg. sup.* C.

instruccionis tam cleri quam laici sic blasfeme intelligunt. In cuius signum fingunt ydemptitatem eiusdem corporis dimensionem multiplicem, et sic de aliis blasfemiis, in quibus gravius profundantur.

- 5 Et omnino culpandi sunt fratres qui habent codices suos plenos hoc testimonio, tam novos quos appreciantur ut ewangelium, quam antiquos; et tamen non iuvant predicantem hanc fidem in populo, sed fidem suam blasfeme reticent et depravant, ut codices ipsorum sunt
 10 pleni: *quod non videtur corpus Cristi in sacramento oculo corporali; quod sacramentum illud visum corporaliter ab eis in manibus sacerdotis nec est nec esse potest corpus domini ydemptice, nec pars eius.* Et tamen dicunt: Talia non sunt predicanda populo, ne eius devotio
 15 extingatur; sed permitti debet in eius ydolatria sordescere. Cuius causam ego non video nisi ut populus, propter questum et reverenciam mundanam presbyteri, seducatur: et sic sunt indubie ydolatre ex consensu.
 Eph. IV, 3 Nam secundum apostolum ad Eph. 4, *Una est fides.*
 20 Eandem ergo fidem, quam aput se abscondunt de hostia, debent revelare populo, ne peccet idolatria. Sciunt, inquam, quod sequitur: *hoc est sacramentum quod oculo corporali conspiciamus:* ergo, *non est ydemptice corpus*
 33* *Cristi.* Sciunt etiam quod sequitur: *multe sunt hostie*
 25 *consecrate distantes localiter, et quantumcumque contrarie in accidentibus variate:* ergo, *nulla earum est ydemptice corpus Cristi.* Et sciunt, tercio, quod sequitur: *hoc sacramentum est accidens* (ut fingunt ex fide); ergo, *non est ydemptice corpus Christi.* Sicut ergo credunt ante-
 30 cedens ex fide, sic predicent et consequens, cum multi sunt ydolatre pessimi, non credentes.

The Friars are much to blame for allowing the doctrine of the identity of the Host with Christ to spread amongst the people, knowing its falsity as they do.

They say that this doctrine favours popular devotion; but Faith is one.

A sacrament is not identical with Christ; nor is an accident; and the Hosts differ in many things from each other.

1. clerici C; *ib.* laici E. 2. ydemptificationem CDE; *ib.* eiusdam B. 3. dimensionem A; *dimensionem* corr. ex dimensionem D; *ib.* multiplicationem A; *corr.* B. 4. fratres culpandi quia non iuvant veritatem in marg. inf. C. 5. tam pro quam A; *ib.* non iuvant corr. ex nominant D; *super* iuvant alia manu nominant E. 6. recitant C; *corr.* ex reticent D; *recitant sed in marg.:* reticent E; *ib.* dampnant A. 7. nec corr. ex quod nec D. 8. tum pro tamen C. 9. predicando C. 10. extingatur E. 11. causa non publicationis in marg. C. 12. presbyteri C. 13. una est fides nota in marg. D; *ib.* apud E; *ib.* hoc pro hostia A. 14. ydolatria CDE. 15. carnali C. 16. idemptice in corpus cristi non est hostia in marg. sup. C. 17. varietate B; *ib.* erit B; *ib.* ydemptice est C. 18. non credunt A. 19. predicet C; predicant A. 20. nec pro non C.

12. Aquinas (Sum. Theol. 3^a Pars, qu. 76, art. 7) absolutely denies that Christ's Body can be seen in the Sacrament by any bodily eye. It is no doubt to this universal doctrine of the School that Wyclif alludes. See *De Apostasia*, Introduction, p. xix.

If they do not believe the people is misled, let them enquire, and they will find it out.

Some say they believe in general what Catholics should believe; a wavering position.

And if this dogma is of so little account, the Church should not be burdened with it.

Besides it must be important, if so many consider it as part of our faith, and others as flat idolatry.

Some blasphemously say that Christ spoke so obscurely as to leave us free to choose the side we prefer, since some say and some deny,

that Scripture points to identification of bread with Christ's body.

Wyclif's position.

If there is obscurity, we need faithful theologians, not greedy and worldly men, as at present.

Quod si non credunt, scrutentur in populo vulnus blasfemie et cognoscent quod maior pars populi, eciam clerus, qui reputat se capitaliter regere multas ecclesias, volunt mori in ista fide et occidendo in contrarium docentes irruere. Quidam autem fingunt quod non⁵ credunt hoc diffinite, sed in communi credunt veritatem catholicam; sed quantum ad istud fluctuant, utramque partem dubitantes, tamquam inpertinens fidei Cristiane. Sed rogo sic loquentes pensare quot Cristiani credunt diffinite contrarium. Pro salute ergo fratrum est veritas¹⁰ detegenda. Item, si sit inpertinens fidei, ad quid predicatur tam attente vel introducitur ad onus ecclesie? Item, sic asserere esset blasphemare in legem domini et C. scandalizari doctores ecclesie, cum papa, sancti multi et communitas doctorum intromittunt se, absolute asserentes¹⁵ ut fidem scripture simpliciter unam partem. Alii autem dicunt quod omnino est ydolatria credere talem hostiam ydemptice esse deum; et ex defectu noticie scripture, et in penam peccati parvipendencium ipsam cum suis studentibus atque doctentibus, est ista perplexitas ex²⁰ cautela diaboli introducta. Nec sciunt illi qui videntur regere ecclesiam perplexitatem istam dissolvere; et sic diffiniencium in penam peccati indubie multitudo multipliciter est divisa; nec sciunt subditi cui credent. Ideo alii blasfemant dicentes Cristum et suos apostoles cum²⁵ doctoribus sequentibus seduxisse ecclesiam locucionibus obscuris atque equivocis per quas fideles possunt credere quamcunque partem contradiccionis voluerint; ut hii dicunt quod in sex locis scriptura loquitur ydemptice de corpore Cristi; et hii, quod loquitur tropice. Quantum³⁰ ad istud credo, ut dixi in tractatu *de Eukaristie*, quod panis consecratus est in figura, non in natura, sacramentaliter, non substancialiter, et tropologice, non ydemptice, corpus Cristi. Et ad magnam utilitatem ecclesie, Cristus sic locutus est obscure atque equivoco,³⁵ ut fideles mereantur in sensus scrutinio, et ut ecclesia, detestans leges humanas, cognoscat se specialiter indigere theologis qui interpretentur sibi fideliter legem

3. ecclesias D. 4. vlt CDE; *ib.* fide *deest* CDE. 8. impertinens C. 9. quod diffinite B; quod *pro* quot C. 10. erit B. 12. aut *pro* vel DE. 13. dei CDE. 14. scandalizare CDE. 16. scire veritatem de eukaristia congrueret *in marg. sup.* C. 21. dyaboli DE. 25. dicentes *in marg.* B. 26. ecclesiam D. 32. panis consecratus quomodo est corpus Cristi *in marg. sup.* D; *ib.* erit B. 33. tropice BCDE. 34. obscure locutus est cristus de sacramento propter meritum *in marg. sup.* C; *ib.* ntilitatem sic C. 35. est locutus sic DE. 38. interpretarentur ABDE.

dei; per illos enim tempore apostolorum, martyrum et sanctorum doctorum crevit ecclesia. Sed post genus theologorum, avaricie deditum, divisum est et commixtum inter satrapas tradicionis humane; et multiplicatur per sectas dissensio secundum tempus periculosum, quod Cristus et suus apostolus predixerunt: et totum hoc est ad exercitium et meritum electorum. Et si queratur quid fidelis debet eligere, dicitur quod debet vivere in fide scripture et quem sensum de illa deus donaverit pie credere, et habere sensum scripture pure propter hoc quod papa et secte sic asserunt plus suspectum; quia vel sunt ignari sensus domini, et secundum Jeronimum, tractant fabrilia fabri, vel propter superbiam ac avariciam contempnentes sanctos doctores vel glosantes per oppositum magnificant dicta sua.

The faithful should believe on that point what Scripture tells him, notwithstanding the Pope and the Sects.

D. Quis ergo color, ut dixi alias, Si Innocencius tercius sic asserit, ergo verum? Nec enim movet ad hoc quod contra imperatorem blasfeme obiurgavit, quia noluit patriarcham suum secundum mundi gloriam exaltare; nec propter hoc quod in signum blasfemi dominii seduxit regem anglie, quod solveret sibi nongentas marcas pro anglia et ybernia; nec propter hoc quod anno sexto eius fratres predicatorum inceperant. Quia ergo ecclesia pape Nicolai secundi ante circiter centum annis declaravit expresse catholice conformiter sanctis doctoribus et scripture istam materiam, ideo sibi debet credi potius posteriori priori postposito. Glosa tamen sibi debet dari ob reverentiam, quantum permittit mensura fidei: ut transsubstantiatio panis, quam ponit primo decretalium capitulo *Firmiter*, debet concedi ad sensum catholicum. Sic enim fuit Thomas Cantuariensis subito mutatus in

Innocent's decree is not necessarily true; and his conduct towards the Emperor, England, and the Dominicans renders Pope Nicolas preferable.

Yet, out of respect, one decree should be explained to mean a change like that of 'conversion'; and the other is doubtfully expressed.

1. martirum DE. 3. theologis factis avaris quid secutum est in marg. inf. C. 4, 5. multiplicata C. 8. fidelis quid eligeret in marg. sup. C. 9. deus de illa CE. 12. vel pro et C. 16. in marg.: Nota abusiones Innocencii IIIⁱⁱ; Innocencii tercii condiciones non bone, tamen debet glosari propter reverentiam in marg. inf. C. 17. quod deest A. 18. obiurgat omnes MSS. 21. solvet C. 22. ybernia anuatum A; hibernia CE; hibernia D. 24. annos corr. ex annis E. 27. quam propterea pro priori B; papa CDE; priori deest A; ib. debet sibi CE. 28. propter pro ob CE. 29. de transsubstantiacione in marg. sup. C; ib. inponit B. 30. debet firmiter B; firmiter in marg. add. D. 31. Quintuariensis A; Cathuriensis C; Canturiensis D; Caturiensis E.

13. From Horace (perhaps quoted by St. Jerome) Ep. l. II, l. 115, 116. Quod medicorum est Promittunt medici; tractant fabrilis fabri. See De Apostasia, p. 171. 16. In De Apostasia, p. 69, l. 37. 30. Decr. Grat. lib. I, tit. 1, c. 1.

But the Friars
have taken
transsubstan-
tiation as a
destruction of
the substance,
and so the
Sacrament
is mere
quantity;
of what sort,
they know not,

and are much
embarrassed to
choose.

This is
blindness; the
subject is only
lost sight of by
the minds of
the faithful;
just as an image
makes one think
of what it
represents, not
of what it is,
without losing
its entity on
that account.

The other
explanation
contradicts
Scripture, the

virum alium; et sic mutantur pape, sopito priori nomine,
sine destruccione. Et quantum ad dictum suum de cele-
bracione missarum, capitulo, *Cum Marthe*, patet quod
ambigue procedit et non decretive in ista materia. Unde
fratres sequentes subtiliaverunt infundabiliter et irra-
cionabiliter ad gravamen et perturbacionem ecclesie,
ponentes per "transsubstanciacionem", "destruccione[m]
substantie"; | propter existenciam accidencium per se 33^b
ponunt sacramentum altaris esse nude quantitatem. Sed
non explicant (ut nec sciunt) de sex generibus quantitatis 10
famosis, sub quo genere quantitatis eukaristia sit con-
tenta. Vident enim quod non sit numerus, locus aut
tempus. Et de longitudine, latitudine et profunditate
quidam, licet inevidenter, eligunt sextum genus; et sic,
facta rarefaccione vel condensacione per totam, ponunt 15
totam quantitatem sequentem, eciamsi ponatur quantitas
successiva, non esse sacramentum vel aliquam eius
partem: et non est conveniens eorum testimonium, ut
patet diffuse alibi.

Et movet hic cecitas! Post consecracione[m] manent 20
accidencia sensibilia in actu considerandi, sopita actua-
litate subiecti ex consideracione animi: ideo ponunt tale
accidens sine subiecto quolibet existente, et undique
inductis blasfemis opinionibus oneratur ecclesia. Sicut
enim intrans domum et videns ymaginem, non suspendit 25
consideracionem suam quo ad naturam ymaginis, utrum
sit de quercu, buxo vel salice, sed totam intencionem
et devocione[m] suam suspendit in signato; consimiliter
est de Eukaristie sacramento. Non tamen propterea
sequitur quod natura ymaginis destruitur vel desinit 30
quoad deum. Magna itaque foret seduccio, quod scriptura E.
sacra vocat sacramentum regulariter panem, ut loquitur
canon misse, quod tam multi sancti et leges ecclesie

2. distraccione B. 4. discretive B: non decretive *in marg.* C. 5. subtiliaverunt *deest* A; subtiliarunt CE; *in marg. add.* D. 9. quantitatis *pro* altaris A. 11. genere quantitatis ABD. 14. sic *deest* B. 15. facto A; *ib.* vel *corr.* ex et D. 18. eorum *deest* ACDE. 19. diffuse D. 20. eos *pro* hic ACDE; *ib.* cecitas monet fratres *in marg.* C. 21. consyderandi D. 22. obiecti B; *ib.* consyderacione D; *ib.* anni *pro* animi A. 23. quomodolibet CDE. 24. opiniones blasfeme *in marg.* C; *ib.* sic *pro* sicut B. 25. non *deest* ACDE. 26. consyderacionem D. 27. de *deest* B. 27, 28. intencionem et *deest* A. 28. suspensio devocionis *in marg.* C. 30. desint A. 31. cum (*d eras.*) *pro* deum E. 31, 32. sacra scriptura CE. 32. regulariter panem sacramentum A; *ib.* et ut omnes MSS. 33. ecclesie *deest* A.

20. All this is but a summary of what is expounded at length in *De Apostasia* and other treatises.

dicunt tam concorditer quod "panis et vinum erunt corpus Christi et sanguis"; (ymmo cantus novellus ecclesie dicit quod *fit sanguis Christi merum*; et sic de multis dictis ecclesie, que omnia non possunt salvari nisi ad sensum figurativum vel tropicum. Nec valet glossa adversariorum exponencium hec dicta per suum oppositum, et annectens extraneas paliaciones; quia idem foret sic glossare et manifeste negare eos; imponere eis ignoranciam logice, et subtilitatem sermonis sibi ipsis ascribere); et sic tales tripliciter seducunt ecclesiam, scilicet, in perfida et consentanea simulacione, in blasfemorum miraculorum faccione, et in horrenda inconveniencium intricacione. Nam audiunt cottidie pertinaciter defensatum ut fidem, quod sacramentum eucharistie est realiter verus deus, quem vident oculo corporali; et tamen, quia hoc eis sonat ad commodum, obmutescunt! Et tamen doctores eorum quos colunt dicunt expresse quod hoc foret ydolatria turpissima. Sed subtiliant nimis inaniter in materia de quiditate hostie, sed discordant sine fundamento solido fluctuantes.

Sed per opinionem suam non subtiliant naturam hostie supra panem alium non sacramentum? sicut non subtiliant in materia de quiditate baptismi et penitencie, in qua est tanta difficultas et opinionum varietas? Quidam enim dicunt quod sacramentum baptismi est aqua, alii quod est sal, tercia quod est oleum, quarti quod est vox baptizantis: quia, cum sit aliquid non potest esse ex naturis tam variis aggregatum, quia sic nichil foret hoc necessarium sacramentum; et sic hoc sacramentum non esset, sicut nichil esset. Quinti dicunt quod hoc sacramentum est aliquid numinis, in signis illis absconditum. Et sexti dicunt quod est unum ex omnibus istis vel eorum aliquibus aggregatum. Et sic

liturgy, all traditions and sayings of the Church, or explains them against their real meaning.

A threefold seduction:
I. dissimulation,
II. fictitious miracles, and
III. great absurdities.

I. Dissimulation. They are mute, when they hear it said: we see Christ with our bodily eyes,

Their subtleties extend even to Baptism. Some say the sacrament is water, others salt, oil, the words uttered, some hidden thing, or the collection of all these.

1. tam *deest* CE; *delet* D; *ib.* erant CE. 2. sanguis C. 3. sanguis CE; sanguis christi fit merum in marg. C; *ib.* sit *pro* fit D; *post* fit *add.*: que E. 4. ecclesie in marg. *add.* D. 5. glosa CE. 6. annectens A; *ib.* palliatus CE; palliaciones D; *ib.* sic foret C. 7. glossare D; glozare E; *ib.* eis *deest* B. 8. 9. antiquis sanctis quidam imponunt ignoranciam in marg. *sup.* C. 10. ipsi E. 11. ecclesiam seducunt tripliciter quidam in marg. *inf.* C. 12. quottidie CD; quotidie E. 13. est eucharistie est C. 14. 15. deus verus CDE. 16. sonat eis CE; *ib.* comodum C. 17. sed in marg. *add.* D. 18. 21-23. *after* subtiliant, naturam hostie supra panem non sacramentum sicut non subtiliant B; *pro* sacramentum, sacratum C; consecratum DE. 19. nec *pro* non. 20. autem A; *ib.* baptismi sacramenti quidditas in marg. *sup.* C. 21. baptizantis D; *ib.* aliud ACE. 22. aliud A; *ib.* minimis ABCD; muminis E. 23. vel eorum aliquibus *deest* CE.

3. Breviarium Romanum. In Festo Corporis Christi, ad vespervas (Hymn. *Pange lingua*).

This disagreement shows their gross ignorance and dissimulation.

Lucre is the cause of their dissembling thus, and Christians ought not to sustain these teachers of fables and lies.

II. *False miracles.* Invented for want of true ones, they are of three principal sorts.
1. They say that at each consecration the substance of bread is destroyed. This is contrary to the ancient doctrine,

and implies the horrible blasphemy that God annihilates the bread.

multi cum signis suis seducunt ecclesiam, qui ignorant propria instrumenta. Revera Paulus propter infinitum minus malum simulacionem Petri in faciem sibi restitit, *quia reprehensibilis erat*, ut dicitur gal. secundo. Et patet vocatorum militum Cristi infidelis vecordia. Gal. II, 11

Cuius causa est quia querunt lucrum temporalium et non salutem sui vel subditi, sicut nec docendam fidei veritatem. Quod si Cristianus subtraheret bona sua a prelato infideli ut pagano, quanto magis ab infideliori domestico plus nocivo! Ipse enim non docet fidem sed fabulas atque mendacia, nec ministrat sacramenta ecclesiastica sed venena, cum, stulto stulcius, ignorat quiditatem, virtutem et alias veritates sacramenti. Sine causa ita et injuste occupat bona ecclesie, cum cumulus temporalium prelatos infatuat et facit eos in debito officii sui mutescere.

Quantum ad secundum, patet consideranti dicta adversariorum subtiliancium in ista materia; quia ipsi propter defectum veri miraculi nefande subtiliant. Tres quidem sunt hereses in materia de eucaristia, quibus tota die nomen domini blasfematur. Dicunt enim pro magno miraculo quod ipsi cum deo conficiunt, quod, virtute benedictionis qua panis a deo bono benedicitur, ipse panis destruitur funditus ad non esse. Non sic autem sencierunt antiqui doctores catholici et leges ecclesie de bonitate dei, cum dicunt concorditer quod panis ille secundum nullam partem eius destruitur, sed virtute benedictionis | vere fit sacramentaliter corpus Cristi. Doctor solempnis concedit quod manet post consecracionem panis aliquitas; ymo grossus decretista, glosator ordinarius, videtur dicere quod panis remanet, quamvis homines nesciant quo devenit. Omnes infideles horrerent istam crudelitatem irrationabilem posse com-

1. signis seducunt quidem *in marg. inf. C.* 3. malas CDE; *ib.* facie CD. 4. Gall. CE. 5. patet *deest* A. 6. et *deest* D. 9. vel *pro* ut C. 12. Ignorans non sacramenta sed venena ministrat *in marg. D.* 13. virtutes *pro* veritates C; veritates *corr. ex* virtutes D; *ib.* itaque CDE; 14. occupant A; *ib.* Temporalia iufatuant et faciunt mutescere *in marg. sup. C.* 16. tercium B; *ib.* consyderanti D. 17. quod ACDE. 18. ne- phandi D. 19. hereses tres *in marg. inf. C.* 23. et ad A; *ib.* prima *in marg. C.* 26. eius partem CE. 27. sit CDE; *ib.* sacramentaliter *in marg. C.* 28. solempnis E; doctor solempnis concedit *in marg. C.* doctor solempnis *in marg. D.* 29. aliquitas CD; aliquiditas E; *ib.* ymmo CD; *ib.* decrecista A; decretista *in marg. C.* 32. horrent D; *ib.* posset D.

28. In *De Apostasia*, this admission of an 'aliquitas' of bread remaining is ascribed to Henry Goethals of Ghent (p. 75, l. 32). Franklin's *Dictionnaire des pseudonymes latins* gives him the title of "Doctor solempnis". And Wyclif calls him so, in *De Ecclesia*, p. 317, l. 26.

petere deo bono. Nec sophisticandum est cum deo bono quod panis ille non destruitur, licet secundum se totum corrumpatur, sic quod nulla eius pars remanet in sui natura, nec in corpore Cristi, sed totum suum esse
 5 creatum tollitur. Revera Manicheus horreret concedere istud competere deo malo. Secunda blasfemia qua verbum false colitur est vocatum miraculum quo dicitur deum sapientem adducere vel commultiplicare totum numerum quantitatis continuitatis, vel figure corporis sui in celo
 10 ad omnem punctum Eucharistie; et tamen virtute verbi dei totum hoc fieri sine causa, cum nichil ibi informat sive quantificat: quia aliter foret corpus Cristi septipedale ad omnem punctum hostie, et quomodocunque figuratum. Tercia blasfemia que in spiritum sanctum
 15 committitur stat in isto, quod omnes dotes corporis Cristi que sunt in celo et beatos reficiunt, sunt ad omnem punctum hostie, licet earum acciones a Deo benevolo sint suspense. Quamvis autem secundum Augustinum jam cessant miracula, tamen sacerdos symo-
 20 niacus, ut inquit, cotidie facit talia infinita.

Quantum ad tertium, patet quod intricant se ipsos et alios inconveniente multiplici. Se ipsos, quia inponunt eis heresim, qui dicunt eucharistiam naturaliter esse panem. Sic enim, ut inquit, mitigaretur devocio populi
 25 ad excellenciam sacramenti. Et tamen ipsimet profitentur concorditer quod illud sacramentum nec est corpus Cristi, nec potest esse pars Cristi, cum ipsum sit accidens. Et constat philosophis quod accidens est creatura abiectissima in natura: sic quod sacramentum altaris sit in-
 30 finitum imperfeccius sive indignius quam tela aranee, quam tantum luti, vel substancia aliqua assignanda. Et sic ubi alii fideles dicunt populo quod eucharistia in natura sua sit infinitum perfeccior quam ista corpora, et accidentaliter infinitum perfeccior quam quevis bestia,
 35 cum sit quodammodo corpus Cristi; ipsi dicunt in-

2. They say that Christ's Body is present in every point of the Host to no purpose, since He does not give it quantity.

And 3. that all the qualities of Christ's body are there, as in Heaven, but miraculously inactive.

III. Great absurdities.

1. That the Sacrament is neither bread nor Christ's body; or if the latter, then the most abject of things is Christ's body.

2. totum sic B; totum in marg. add. D. 3. pars eius CE; ib. remanet deest B. 4. esse suum CDE. 5. competere deest A; ib. secunda blasfemia in marg. C; ib. contra pro qua C. 6. colligitur A; tollitur C. 7. dimensione in marg. C. 8. punctum C. 9. tertia blasfemia in marg. C; cave in marg. D. 10. Omnes dotes que sunt in celo corpus Cristi non sunt in sacramento in marg. D. 11. a deo benivolo CDE. 12. benivole A. 13. miracula cessant in marg. C. 14. quotidie C; quotidie E. 15. primum E. 16. quia pro qui ABD. 17. ut in marg. add. D; ib. populo C. 18. ipsimet C; ipsimet corr. ex ipsimet E; ib. profiteantur B. 19. imperfeccius C. 20. substancia deest A. 21. 32, 33. Eucharistia perfeccior in natura et in accidentalibus in marg. inf. C; ib. sit in natura sua CDE.

Which
damnable
heresy
dishonours
Christ more
than our
doctrine.

2. That every
part of Christ's
Body has its
position in
every point of
the Host. So
Christ's head is
below his feet,
and his heart
outside and
skin inside, etc.

Proof. As the
soul of man is
above his body
by its way of
existence,
Christ's Body,
existing in the
same way, is
above itself.

Were the Host
broken into an
upper and an
under part,
Christ's body
would be above
and below.

Whether
Christ's Body
in the Host is
a continuous
whole, seems
doubtful;

honorabiliter omnino oppositum. Tantum ergo honorem tribuimus eukaristie ut ipsi attribuunt quovismodo, et infinitum maiorem inferioritatem vel dedecus ipsi sibi attribuunt quam fideles quos vocant hereticos. Iudicet ergo populus naturali ingenio inter illos. Revera, me⁵ seminante tale dogma in populo, ipsi diffamarent me undique tamquam hereticum destruendum. Et cum ipsi in maiori dampnatione pertinaciter perseverent, patet quam patule obviant sibi ipsis.

Secundo, dicunt quod posicio (que est differencia¹⁰ quantitatis) est ad omnem punctum hostie concomitanter cum corpore Cristi; quia aliter omnia membra Cristi forent confuse sine ordine locata. Et sic inquit quod infima pars corporis Cristi in hostia est vertex capitis; sed suprema pars corporis Cristi in hostia, supra caput,¹⁵ sunt pedes continuati cum tybiis. Intima eciam pars corporis Cristi in hostia, ut fingunt, est cutis cum ossibus loco cordis, sed extrema pars corporis Cristi sunt viscera cum spiritibus; sic quod nisi deus suspenderet continuacionem parcium, foret corpus Cristi ibi²⁰ monstruosissimum. Cum enim ibi sit posicio parcium (que est differencia quantitatis), oportet ipsos concedere caput Cristi esse ibi supra collum, sicut corpus Cristi est in ecclesia sub celo et supra terram. Nam difinitive est in loco, sicut modo est deitas et anima hominis.²⁵ Conceditur esse supra se, quia secundum se totam est per situm supra quem est, ipsa anima secundum se totam: quod est evidencius de corpore Cristi in hostia, cum omnes partes eius locantur sic inferius atque superius. Nam discontinuatis partibus illius hostie, vel³⁰ sine motu locali, corpus Cristi foret totaliter sub et supra; ergo a pari, facta continuacione et multiplicacione corporis Cristi, ut modo. Ex quibus cum infinitis difficultatibus intricat hec secta se ipsam atque ecclesiam. Ulterius videtur concedendum vel relinquendum sub³⁵ dubio quod caput Cristi in hostia continuatur cum pedibus et quelibet eius pars quantitative cum qualibet.

2-4. quovismodo — attribuunt *deest* A. 6. docma E. 9. quod pro quam CE. 13. que A. 14, 15. est vertex capitis sed suprema pars corporis Cristi hostia *deest* C; *ib.* pars corporis — pars corporis *in marg. inf. add.* D. 15. caput E. 16. tybiis CDE; *ib.* eciam *deest* A. 18. extima A; *ib.* Cristi *deest* A. 19. nisi *in marg. add.* D. 22. que pro que. 23. caput E. 24. in ecclesia est sic C; in ecclesia est E; *ib.* difinitive E. 25. sicud A; *ib.* non ABE; *corr.* E. 26. concedatur B; *ib.* esse *deest* D. 29. sic locantur D. 30. discontinuatis A; *ib.* tamen pro vel B. 32. multitudine CD. 34. intricationes infer *in marg. sup.* C; *ib.* ista D. 36. caput E. 37. quantitativa A; *ib.* quelibet A.

- Nam quelibet talis pars est immediata cuilibet et est glutinatum et continuatum paratum; nec scitur quod deus suspendit actionem naturalem; ergo non est negandum simpliciter, quod quelibet talis pars continuatur
- H. 5 cuilibet. Et confirmatur ex fundamento istius sentencie. Nam deus posset hoc facere, et redundaret in difficultatem credendi ac mirabilitatem operum dei; ergo, ut arguunt in simili, catholice debet credi. Et confirmant infideles per hoc quod quidquid est inter labia et palata
- 10 oris hominis erit in ipso ore; sed omnia membra corporis Christi sic sunt inter palata capitis Christi et labia, ergo sunt in ore Christi et per idem ex omni parte eius concava. Et sic de infinitis inconvenientibus, que tam fideles quam infideles obiciunt.
- 15 Unde greci, qui usque hodie nobis fidelius secuntur fidem apostoli, conficiunt in magna quantitate panis, immiscentque hostie panem, oleum vel butirum; et die
- 34^b ieiunii vel non celebrant, | vel prope tempus quo ieiunando parce semel comedunt. Infideles autem derident clericos, quod sine fundacione introducunt novitates
- 20 ad gravamen ecclesie, nec populum, manifeste ydolatrantes in heresi qua credit sacramentum esse corpus Christi ydemptice, revocant ab errore. Ideo, si aliqua secta ydolatrando et apostotando cadit in heresim, hoc
- 25 sic facit potissime ex consensu. Nec scit auffugere, quin sicut idem homo multiplicatus est supra se et sub se, dexter et sinister, ante et retro sibi ipsi; sic esset de corpore Christi in hostia. Quomodo, queso, staret homo multiplicatus super caput suum, iaceret in solario super
- 30 corpus suum, recumbens in celario? et sic de aliis differentiis positus, captis a loco; ut sicut talis veniret retro se, curreret ante se, foret dexter et sinister sibi ipsi; sic corpus Christi in hostia haberet ventrem ad dorsum, faciem ad occipud retro ipsum; et sic de in-

according to them whatever is most wonderful is to be believed.

The Greeks, consecrate loaves in large quantity, and avoid taking Communion on fast-days long before the meal.

There is no escaping from this: a man, if multiplied, would be both above and below himself etc.: it is the same for Christ's Body.

1. cuilibet in marg. add. D. 2. glutinatum A. 3. quo A; igitur CE. 8. confirmant C. 9. quicquid C; quicquid E. 10, 11. oris — capitis deest A. 10. est pro erit CDE; ibi si pro sed CD. 11. sic sunt deest C; ibi pallata D. 12. in pro ex CDE. 13. iniquitibus A; ibi inconvenientia ex positione non fundata infert in marg. sup. C. 15. Greci conficiunt in magna quantitate in marg. C; ibi Cave in marg. D; ibi sequuntur CDE. 17. hodie pro hostie CDE. 18. non deest A. 19. prime AB; persone C; p^r D; ibi simul ABC; semel DE. 21. populus idolatrans in marg. C. 22. credunt A. 24. hec ACDE. 25. Cave in marg. D; ibi aufugere CE. 26. sicut CDE. 27. et deest CE. 27-33. sic esset — sic corpus in marg. inf. add. D. 29. capud E. 30. cellario CE. 31. positus CD; ibi capitis AC; captis E; ibi sicut CDE. 33. ventrem ad in marg. add. D. 34. caput A; occipud CE; acciput D.

finitis conclusionibus monstruosis. Ymmo, sicut canis comedit, ut inquiunt, corpus Cristi, sic sacerdos in penam penitencie combureret corpus Christi; et sic veritatem cremaret hereticus. Nec est ratio quod gradus positivus includat negacionem, ut fingitur, quin per idem omnis positivus gradus vel terminus positivus; et sic neganda foret multiplicacio corporis Cristis in hostia.

Against all
sophisms, we
have two decrees
of the Church,
and many
words of the
Saints.

Satis ergo est tollere adversariorum sophismata contra antiquam sanctorum sententiam, licet non sit extranea superflue introducta, ut decretum *Ego Berengarius* manifeste dicit quod panis et vinum erunt post consecracionem tam sacramentum quam corpus Cristi et sanguis. Et idem dicit decretum beati Ambrosii de consecracione, dist. 2^a, cap. *Omnia quecumque*, cum quotlibet dictis sanctorum.

Objection. If
Christ's body is
not multiplied
and each Host
is His Body,
there is but one
Host or many
bodies.

Et videtur sequi, si hoc sacramentum est corpus Cristi tunc corpus Cristi est hoc sacramentum; et sic quotlibet corpora forent corpus Cristi, vel non forent multe hostie consecrate. Hic autem audiui responsionem triplicem. Prima negat hanc consequenciam: *hoc sacramentum est corpus Cristi: ergo, corpus Cristi est hoc sacramentum*. Sicut, resolvendo sensum, non sequitur: *hoc sacramentum figurat sacramentaliter corpus Cristi, ergo, corpus figurat sacramentaliter istum panem*. Secunda responsio concedit consequenciam, et consequens quod debet aptari con- sequenti iste sensus: *corpus Cristi est hoc sacramentum, hoc est, corpus Cristi figuratur per hoc sacramentum: et sic corpus Cristi est quotlibet corpora separata, ad sensum conformem*. Tercia responsio dicit quod duplex est corpus Cristi, scilicet in figura et in natura; et sic Cristus habet multa corpora in figura (ut loquitur beatus Jeronimus), sed nullum eorum est corpus Cristi quod naturaliter et personaliter actuatur per animam suam in celo, sed unum aliud corpus quod satis equivoce dicitur corpus Cristi. Ego autem, quia volui excutere

Three replies.
Either 1. to
deny the
consequence;

or 2. to admit
that Christ's
Body is each
Host
figuratively;

or 3. to say
that Christ has
a figurative as
well as a
natural body,
the first only
multipliable.

1. sicut D. 2. comedit deest C; in marg. E; ib. corpus deest D.
3. comburet C. 4. qua A. 6. Cave in marg. D. 8. igitur CE.
9. sit AD. 10. Berengarius D. 11. erant ACDE. 13. sanguis D.
16. Cristi deest A. 17. hoc deest ACDE. 18. after forent a word
effaced A. 19. enim A; corr. E; ib. audiui in marg. add. C.
23. corpus cristi CDE. 24. responsio secunda D. 25. quia CDE.
26. iste in marg. A. 28. Cristi deest D. 30. Cristi deest A; ib. numero CDE. 33. actualiter C; tur in ras. E.

10. Decr. Grat. 3^a Pars, Dist. II, c. 42. 14. Decr. Grat. 3^a Pars, Dist. II, c. 74.

ista sophismata, declinavi ad logicam baptiste, dicentis
se non esse heliam, ut per hoc populus evitet hanc
ydolatriam, quia credit panem sacramentum esse
ydemptice deum suum: sicut apostolus alloquitur athe-
nienses act. 17. Et revera non magis fuit illa communitas
ydolatrie dedita quam modo infidelitate oneratur ecclesia.
Non igitur mirum si misse talium infidelium nocent
ecclesie. Ideo fidelis theologus predicaret cum apostolo
contra tales ydolatras, et pius laicus pocius conduceret
eos, ut non sic celebrent sive orent. Quia revera nec
prophete baal, de quibus 3ⁱ Reg. 18 nec sacerdotes baal,
de quibus Daniel ultimo, fuerunt magis heretici ydolatre
quam tales sunt. Condescendendo ergo logice divine
que Matth. 5, concedit baptistam esse heliam, et Jer. 24,
concedit Jesum nostrum esse David, cum aliis tropicis
locucionibus similibus, defendo contra sophistas per ali-
quam istarum trium responsionum, et specialiter per
terciam, veritatem.

Secunda via qua complices pape seminant de ipso
blasfemiam est heresis in qua de ipso infundabiliter
funguntur potenciam et indubie ut sic impetunt in Cristi
veritatem tamquam anticristi discipuli. Sicut enim addendo
ad pape Innocencii stulticiam de sacramento altaris intro-
ducitur ydolatria per magnam partem ecclesie; sic colendo
papam ut Cristi vicarium, vel secundum rationem falsam
spiritualis potencie quam prethendunt, committitur plus
detestanda atque blasfema ydolatria; quia honores
divini attribuantur membro luciferi, quod est ydolum
detestabilius trunco picto, cum ipse non continet in se
tantam maliciam. Et hec ratio quare Petrus vocatus
ad militem, non imperans ut miles sibi veniat, non

Wyclif prefers
the latter,
denying that
Christ's natural
body is in the
Sacrament,
because of the
popular error,
which is as
rank idolatry
as that of the
Athenians and
of the prophets
and priests of
Baal.

A second
blasphemy of
the Sects is the
worship of the
Pope as Christ's
Vicar; which is
worse than the
adoration of a
piece of wood.

1. declavari A; declinari CDE; *ib.* logicam baptiste amplexatus in
marg. sup. C. 2. hec AC; *ib.* devitet CE. 3. sacramentum D; sacrum E. 4. 5. attenienses DE. 7. ergo D.
9. laicus E. 10. nec deest AB; in marg. D. 11. beel CE; corr. ex
baal D. 13. sunt tales CDE; *ib.* condescendendo C; *ib.* igitur CE.
14. quia A; *ib.* 20 A; XI CE; XII D. 15. alii C. 16. defendo A;
defendendo D. 16, 17. a^{em} C; a^{em} E. 17, 18. per terciam deest A.
19. contra complices C; contra in marg. D; delet E. 20. in deest CE;
quam pro in qua D. 21. et deest A; *ib.* ut sic in marg. A. 22. sicut D.
23. ad deest E. 24. ydolatria committitur nūdius in marg. sup. C; *ib.*
ecclesie D; *ib.* sicut A. 25. pretendit CDE. 27. ydolatria atque blas-
femia C; ydolatria atque blasfema ydolatria E. 29. in se non continet D.

1. In Wyclif's theory, John the Baptist being figuratively
Elias, was really he; but he was right to deny it in the sense
of being the very person of the prophet.

Fearing
idolatry, Peter,
Paul and
Barnabas,
refused to allow
honours to be
paid to them
until the people
were instructed.

But if the Pope
exacts such
honours to be
paid to him
personally, both
he and his
worshipper are
guilty of
idolatry.

The first thing
is to disburden
the Church
from riches.

The wealthy
among the
clergy should
acknowledge
that the poor,
if servants of
God, ought
to have
wherewithal to
serve Him.
Wealth lessens,
instead of
increasing, the
influence of the
priesthood.

invenitur in aula regia sed in domo symonis leprosi ^{Act. IX, 43;}
corriarii iuxta aquam, ut patet Act. 10. Petrus autem ^{X 6}
venit humiliter, non equester cum sumptuosa familia,
sed pedester. Quando autem Cornelius, procidens ad
pedes Petri, oravit eum, dixit Petrus postquam elevavit ⁵
eum: *Ego, inquit, ipse homo sum sicut et tu.* Et con-
formiter fecerunt Paulus et Barnabas, ut legitur act. 14. | ^{35*}
Quando autem noverunt populum in fide instructum ^{Act. XIV-}
quomodo Cristus est caput totius ecclesie, et quomodo
non debet honor impendi prelati eius, nisi de quanto ¹⁰
Cristo impenditur in membris suis, tunc susceperunt
honorem humiliter cum timore. Quod si papa nesciat
quod sit membrum ecelesie et tamen exigit fieri appro-
priate sibi, *ut sibi*, honores insolitos; quis dubitat quin
sit blasphemus ydolatra, sicut et persona taliter eum ¹⁵
colens? quia secundum rationem falsam veritati (que
Cristus est) contrariam, colit, ut sic, membrum luciferi;
quia, si omnes prelati nostri respuerent blasfemos
honores, bene esset ecclesie ab ydolatria expurgate.
Quod non erit antequam exonerata fuerit mundi ²⁰
diviciis. Et inferiores clerici habentes de diviciis, de
decimis, vel aliis elemosinis ultra vite necessaria, re-
cognoscant in superhabundantibus elemosinis et specialiter
in decimis se esse procuratores pauperum non dominos. ^{Ps. XXIII,}
Cum enim *domini est terra et plenitudo eius*, sequitur ¹
demonstrative fidelibus, quod deus vult cuicunque servo
suo de bonis suis dividi prout opus est serviendo deo
debite ad implecionem sui officii: patet ex hoc quod
aliter deus non esset primus paterfamilias summe
iustus. Et illud principium consideraret prelati, videns ³⁰
quantum temporalium habundancia adauget sibi sacer-
dotis officium ultra apostolos; et equa lance notata
videret, quomodo non auget sed minuit ministerium
sacerdotis; per hoc enim magis mundo, voluptati et
dominacioni intenditur et de officio quod Cristus exigit ³⁵

1. leprosi *deest* ADE. 2. corriarii E. 3. venit *in marg. add.* D.
5. unde *pro* eum. 6. Ego enim A; *ib.* ipse inquit CE; *ib.* homo ipse D.
7. 18 CE. 9. capud C. 11. nescit papa si membrum ecclesie est *in*
marg. C. 15. sicut DE. 17. est Cristus est D; *ib.* sit *pro* sic C. 18. quod
pro quia ACDE: *ib.* nostri prelati CE: *ib.* blasphemus E. 19. dotacio
in marg. C. 20. fuerit exonerata C; fuerit exonerata DE. 21. de
diviciis *deest* ACDE. 22. elemosinis CDE. 23. habundantibus D.
24. procuratores A. 26. detive CE; *ib.* vnicuique CE. 27. dedi A;
ib. finiendo C. 28. quia CE; *corr.* ex quod D. 29. primus *deest* C.
30. consyderaret D. 31. adaugens BCD; *ib.* sibi *deest*. 32. ultra apo-
stolos *in marg. add.* 33. videt C. 34. mundo magis E.

a suis prelati subtrahitur. Ideo, ut sepe dixi, particio
indebita bonorum fortune est precipua causa pertur-
L. bacionis ecclesie. Deus enim, cum sit paterfamilias summe
sciens, providet domui sue tantum de temporalibus quan-
tum est necessarium ad perficiendum servicium quod
5 exigit a subditis. Repugnat enim perfeccioni dei quod in
isto sit superfluum et diminutus; sed occasione peccati
puniendi contingunt fames terre, sterilitas, et alia penalia
in ewangelio nominata. Quod autem aliqui de Cristi familia
10 sic egent, peccata et specialiter avaricia sunt in causa.

Inequality of
wealth is not
ordered by God,
but allowed as
the punishment
of sin.

Deus enim wult quod seculares domini moderate
habundent temporalibus, ut potestative incuciant timore
discolis contrariis legi Cristi. Wult eciam quod com-
munitas vivens de laboricio vel mercimonio mediocriter
15 possideat temporalia, quantum est necessarium, ut in
statu illo debite deo serviatur. Ideo dicit Crysostomus,
omelia 31 operis imperfecti, quod mercantes iniuste non
sunt Cristiani, quia positi inter deum et mercandiam
affectuosius iurant pro mammona et ex infidelitate ex-
10 citant ementes ut iurent. Et ideo, relinquentes post
mortem substantiam quesitam mundo atque extraneis,
servant sibi in cribro superflua; ut petram. Ille autem
mercator est periculosior et deo obieccior, qui emit
rem et ipsam integram vendit ultra valorem vel ne-
25 cessitatem ad officium continuandum in ministerio dei,
ut patet de mercantibus qui subito sunt, viciose atque
superflue, mundo divites. Sed non video quin, sicut
licet emere artificanda, ut artificium vendatur debite, sic
licet iuste temporalia integra commutare.

Yet temporal
lords require to
have riches and
power.

And traders
may possess a
moderate
competence, in
so far as their
state needs it.

30 Et deus wult tercio quod clerici instar sui et aposto-
lorum strictissime habeant de bonis infimis, ut patet
im. 8 Thy. 6., quantum est necessarium ad complendum suum

Those
especially who
charge too dear
become unjustly
rich.

But the clergy
should be quite
free from
unnecessary
wealth, source
of all evil;

1. ydolatra B. 1, 2. ydolatra particio C; indebita particio E; particio
idolatra bonorum fortune precipua causa perturbacionis ecclesie in marg.
sup. C. 5. officium CE; ib. servicium sed in marg. corr. officium D.
6. enim pro ei A. 7. et deest B; vel CDE. 7, 8. peccata puniuntur in
marg. C. 8. peccata BCE. 11. wlt CD; ib. domini seculares in marg. C.
13. legis A. 13, 14. communitas in marg. C. 14. laboricio B. 16 deo
debite CE; deo in marg. add. D. 17, 18. mercantes iniuste non sunt
cristiani in marg. sup. D. 19. iurarunt B; ib. mammona AC; mammona DE.
19, 20. excitant B. 21. conquisitam CE; corr. ex que sitam D.
21, 22. atque — cribro deest C. 2. peccata pro petram C; petram sed
in marg.; peccata D; peccata sed in marg.; petrum deletum E; ib. autem
deest B. 23. mercator periculosior in marg. sup. C. 27. quin corr. ex
quando E; ib. sicut CDE. 28. rem artificandam CDE; ib. debite ven-
datur C. 29. comutare E. 32. clerici strictissime haberent temporalia
in marg. inf. C. 32. Thymo C; prima thymo D; prima thymo 6 E.

17. Operis imperfecti. A work ascribed to Chrysostom but
probably written by an Arian; certainly not by him.

the infirm
amongst them
receiving alms
from the rich,
who need their
prayers.

officium; et superbia anticristi in isto est precipua
causa perturbacionis ecclesie. Ex hoc enim aspirant ad
honores mundanos, ex hoc torpescunt in officio sacer-
dotali quod Cristus instituit, et ex hoc veniunt fames
multiplices et bella in populo. Infirmi autem et im-
5 potentes debent vivere de decimis et aliis privatis
elemosinis; sic quod mundo divites plus indigent illis
ratione meriti quam e contra, ut docet Augustinus in
de verbis domini, sermone 5^o; et illi per clerum precipue
sunt fraudati. Ideo, ad tollendam symoniam et alios 10
defectus ecclesie, nunquam erit sanata radicitus antequam
a clero, reducto ad statum quem Cristus instituit, perfecte
ablata fuerit causa morbi.

As a sign of
Christ's
dominion, all
ought to give
tithes; the poor,
spiritual tithes;
the rich, tithes
of their
substance.

In signum autem capitalis domini Jesu Cristi debent
cuncti superhabundantes dare sibi in suis pauperibus 15
reditus decimarum, et specialiter clerus superhabundans.
Nam ex adinvencione humana sub Greg. 10 nunc tarde
sunt clero perquisite decime, ut narravi superius. Sicud
ergo deus est naturaliter dominus capitalis cunctorum
in mundo conversancium; ita naturaliter debent sibi 20
dare redditus decimarum; egeni, spiritualem decimam,
et superhabundantes in bonis infimis cum hoc dabunt
signanter decimam bonorum fortune, cum deus sit
dominus super universitatem creatam, sicud denarius
excedit novenarium. Unde sub tempore legis nature 25 M.
Abel et Cayn dederunt deo decimas, ut patet Genes. 4 Gen.
sed quibus darentur | reliquit deus humano arbitrio, IV, 3, 4
docens naturaliter hoc principium quod dentur ad 35^b
maiolem utilitatem ecclesie. Ideo in principio, quando
nemo eguit illis decimis ad vescendum, cremabantur 30
decime, ut vel sic instruatur ecclesia caritative in deum
ascendere. Nunc autem dabantur sacerdotibus et levitis
tempore legis Mosayce; et nunc pauperibus, quibus
naturaliter sunt debite, ut patet thob 1^o. Tob.
IV, 7

As it was from
the beginning;
tithes, at first
burnt offerings,
were later given
to the priests
and to the poor.

5. Nota in marg. A. 5, 6. inpotentes A. 7. indiget B. 8. dicit B;
ib. in deest ACDE. 9. et in marg. add. D. 10. sunt precipue CE;
ib. simoniam D. 14. pauperes infirmi debent vivere de decimis in marg. D.
15. sibi deest A. 16. redditus CDE. 17. ex inadinvencione D; *ib.* sit
pro nunc A; corr. D. 18. decime in marg. A; *ib.* superius narravi CE;
ib. sicut CDE; *ib.* in marg.: scilicet in tractatu de simonia B. 19. igitur CE.
20, 21. dare sibi DE. 21. dari AB. 22. superhabundans A. 24. do-
minus deest D; *ib.* sicut CDE. 26. Caym B; Caim corr. ex Cain D.
27. reliquid D. 28. debetur A. 30. deguit C. 30, 31. decime cre-
mabantur aliquando quare in marg. C. 33. mosaice DE. 33, 34. decime
naturaliter sunt debite pauperibus in marg. sup. C. 34. thobie CDE.

9. Aug. (Migne XXXVII, 215) seems to be the passage alluded
to here.

Unde Augustinus in quadam epistola que sic incipit, *propicio Cristo* ita scribit: "Decime, fratres, tributa sunt egencium animarum. Redde ergo tributa pauperibus, offer libamina sacerdotibus". Et sequitur: "decime", inquit, 5 "ex debito requiruntur; et qui eas reddere noluerit res alienas invadit; et quanti pauperes in locis ubi ipse habitat, illo decimas non dante, fame mortui fuerint, tantorum homicidiorum reus ante tribunal eterni iudicis apparebit; quia rem a domino pauperibus delegatam suis 10 usibus reservavit. Qui igitur sibi aut premium comparere aut peccatorum desiderat indulgenciam promereri, redditus decimis, eciam de novem partibus studeat elemosinam dare; ita tamen ut quitquid excepto victu mediocri et vestitu rationabili superfuert, non luxurie reservetur, 15 sed in thesauro celesti per elemosinam pauperum reponatur. Quidquid enim nobis deus plus quam opus est dederit, non nobis specialiter dedit, sed per nos aliis erogandum transmisit. Si non dederimus, res alienas invadimus." Ecce hic testimonium predictae sentencie. 20 Redeundo ergo patet ex dictis quod nec papa, nec prelatus ecclesie, sicut non haberet de temporalibus nisi tytulo elemosine, quantum est necessarium ad ministerium quod Christus sibi instituit, sic nec honores hic debet suscipere, nisi quantum est necessarium, ut deus in 25 illo honorificetur a populo; et per consequens omnes mundanos honores debet aufugere; ymmo et quilibet secularis dominus, nisi de quanto est necessarium ut timeatur a populo ad cohercendum rebelles legi Cristi, ut tam ille quam ipsi ad iugum trahendum in curru 30 dei regularius reducantur.

Si ergo, secundum Crysostomum, ommittenda est mercacio qua in alienis partibus emuntur integra, ut vendantur et integra, propter difficultatem atque peri-

Augustine's words: Tithes are a debt we owe to the poor, not a merit; if we will have merit, we must give of the other nine-tenths.

Thus, setting aside what is necessary for food and raiment, we can treasure up the rest as alms; God gave it us for that end alone.

No member of the Church, no secular lord, can have either riches, power, or honour, except for God's service in his state.

Merchants are advised not to trade in foreign parts, on account of the difficulty of

2. ita *deest* D; *ib.* nota de decimis *in marg.* D. 3. tributa egencium decime *in marg.* C. 3. igitur CE. 5. requirunt CE. 6. Cristi *pro* ubi A. 8. homicidiorum reus *in marg.* C; *ib.* tribuales A. 9. paupibus C. 10. sibi igitur D; *ib.* aut *deest* D; *ib.* comparare ABCE. 11. desyderat D. 12. de novem partibus *in marg.* C. 13. quidquid D; *ib.* ex pre cepto A; ex dicto B; *ib.* mediocriter CDE. 16. Quid A; Quitquid C; quidquid D; quicquid E. 17. non *deest* A. 18. erogandum DE. 18, 19. Si — invadimus *deest* CE. 20. igitur CE. 21. sicut CDE; *ib.* aut *pro* nisi A; in B. 22. titulo CDE. 23. Cristus *deest* C; *ib.* debet hic D. 23, 24. honores pro quanto susciperent prelati et domini *in marg. sup.* C. 26. aufugere CDE; *ib.* ymo E. 28. rebelles *deest* A; rebellem legi D; rebelles legi CE; cohercere rebelles *in marg.* C. 29. illi D; *ib.* trahendi ABCD. 31. igitur CE. 32. mercacio periculosa quare *in marg.* C.

2. Aug. (Migne, XXXVI, p. 1911).

estimating fair
profits for their
trouble and
perils; how
much more
should the
clergy avoid all
worldly traffic

Especially as
regard the
collation of
benefices,

wherein the
power of
prelates is
blasphemously
exaggerated,
contrary to the
practice of the
Apostles.

Nothing proves
better that they
lack this
spiritual power,
which God may
give to an
unknown
priest.

culum taxandi iustum valorem talis laboris sic mercantis
et vie periculum, ymmo taxacio continuacionis status
mercantis est sibi incognita propter eventus innumera-
biles causales. Multo magis clericus Cristi, et specialiter
sacerdos superior, debet cavere negociacionem ad peri- 5
culum sui et ecclesie magis ambiguam, vel statum
prosperitatis mundane in quo iacent anime ampliora
pericula. Primus enim mercator posset facilius iuste N.
exequi mercandiam talem ex integris quam prelatus,
et sic habundare divitiis. Nam expressius prohibetur a 10
Cristo, plus retrahitur a cariori officio, et omnino
periculosius blasphematur in honore mundano per mer-
candiam sacerdotis quam per dictam laici mercandiam;
et omnino de periculo mundani honoris, gracia lucri
symoniace perquisiti, et summe de blasfema exaltacione 15
potestatis prelati propter collacionem symoniacam pre-
positure vel beneficii spiritualis.

Aliter enim numquam sic blasphemaretur de potestate
prelati, implicando quod plus potest in colacione talium
quam Petrus potuit sive Cristus. Sic quod patet sedule 20
attendenti quod maior pars blateratorum de potestate
prelati est heretica et blasfema. Nam quia potestas est
insensibilis, fingi poterit et ficcione mendaci seduci
populus. Apostoli autem non de magnitudine talis
potestatis contenderant, sed ad plus laborandum pro 25
edificacione ecclesie effectualiter secundum formam
ewangelii laborabant. Unde non potest quis patenciam
ostendere se esse expertem talis potencie quam pompando
de tali potencia sine correspondente opere. Deus enim
non dat talem potestatem propter locum, propter tradi- 30
ciones elacionis humane vel propter famam vel appa-
renciam humane glorie, qua fingitur quod talis dominatur
toti mundo, tamquam frater domini et amicus. Sacerdos
enim mundo incognitus, qui similis sequitur Cristum
in moribus, habet potestatem regendi et edificandi eccle- 35

1. laborem AD; talem laborem omnes MSS. 2. ymo E. 6. atque CE.
6, 7. status prosperitatis mundane periculosus in marg. inf. C. 10. hun-
dare C. 12. blasphematur E; ib. homine A. 13. laici E. 16, 17. vel
prepositure beneficii A. 18. blasphemare D; ib. potestati C. 19. impli-
cando CD; ib. habet CE; ib. collacione CDE. 21. blacterarum AD.
22. prelati est in marg. add. D. 23, 24. potestas que insensibilis ideo
excusabilior videtur in marg. D. 25. et deest B; ib. mendacii B; ib. se-
ducti B. 26. aut A. 27. contenderent D. 28. posset ACDE;
gloracio prelatorum de potestate causatur in marg. sup. C. 29. esse
deest AD. 30. propter locum in marg. add. D. 31. eleccionis CDE.
33. taquam D. 34. cognitus C.

siam excellencius; quia non consistit regimen ecclesie in spoliacione et prefeccione complicum vel sacramentali seduccionem secundum tradicionem humanas, sed in meritoria operatione et in humili exhortacione ad viandum conformiter legi Christi. Sic quod melius foret ecclesie non esse papam vel prelatos huiusmodi; sed, abiecta tota tradicionem cesarea, sacerdotes pauperes docere nude et familiariter legem Christi.

Et quantum ad evidencias, patet quod sunt tante ratione vacue quod blasphemus vereretur in presencia animalis irrationalis ipsas exponere. Nam ex illo Matth. 16, emungunt potissime fictam potestatem blasphemam: *Quodcunque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum et in celis* etc. Examination of the argument based on Christ's words to Peter: very weak.

36^a Sed cum beatus Jeronimus dixit: "Sacerdotes nostros ratione blasfemi intellectus istius verbi supercilium phariseorum induere"; notarent primo sensum dicti Christi. Oportet enim subintelligere talem condicionem, potestate (scilicet clavium) non errante; quia, ut tradicionem sue coguntur dicere, clavibus suis de valde possibili errantibus, nec solvunt nec ligant subditos suos quo ad deum, sed intricant se ipsos fingentes superficie tenus nodos vel dissolutiones nodorum. Et illa fictio fingenti est nociva, et captivato est vel nociva vel impertinens quo ad deum. Notarent secundo, quod ipsi, ex sanctitate vite et imitatione morum sequendo Petrum similis, sunt illi quibus ex merito consonant dicta Petro. Si enim scolam humilitati et paupertati Christi contrariam exercent, nullus sacerdos in mundo est magis a dicte potestatis participacione alienus. Christus enim dixit,

1. Because the power of the keys would imply infallibility; to which they cannot pretend.

The Pope has as much right to claim the words said to Peter as to be called the light of the world: the right in both cases depends on personal holiness.

1. regimen ecclesie in quo consistit vty attenderetur in marg. sup. C. 2. et deest C; et pro in DE. 4. in deest E. 5. confuiter C. 5-9. Sic — Et quantum deest A; in marg. D. 8. facilliter CE; ib. cristi legem C. 9. cautele A. 11. rationes C; rationalis BCD: irrationalis (ir al. manu add.) E; ib. ipsa A; corr. D. 12. ptem C. 13. etc. deest CE. 15. ratione deest C; ib. supersilium B; supercilium DE. 16. secundum dictum C. 18. clave errante non solvitur in marg. inf. C; ib. ut deest B. 20. possibiliter CE; corr. ex possibili D. 22. after fictio a word effaced A. 23. est fingenti CDE; ib. et deest B; ib. captivacio BC; ib. noticia (prima vice) C. 23, 24. impertinens C. 25. mutacione corr. ex imitatione D; imitacio morum petri et apostolorum prelati indicitur in marg. sup. C. 26. petri corr. ex petro D. 28. exercerent C; ib. adiecte CD. 29. participio CE.

14. Jer. Comment. in Matth. I. III, c. XVI (Migne, t. 26, p. 122; p. 124 of Ben. edition). 20. As Wyclif here seems chiefly to allude to the dispensing power, which would of course require infallible knowledge to be always used rightly, he is exact in saying that Church traditions do not admit that infallibility. The Vatican Council itself proclaimed infallibility only for doctrinal decrees in matters of faith and morals, not for acts concerning Church discipline.

Matth. 5: *Vos estis lux mundi et sal terre.* Sed cum hoc stat in libertate arbitrii, si, dimittentes hanc sectam, declinant in viam diaboli, quid illis et privilegio dato Petro? Unde diabolus, sophista pessimus, seducit suos discipulos in consequenciarum ignoranciis: "Cristus talem 5 potestatem dedit Petro et ceteris apostolis", ergo illis.

Implicitly he asserts that whatever he does is right, and that he will be crowned in heaven at last, since this too was promised to Peter.

Words of Origen, bearing on the subject.

Unde, ut suggerunt, licet illis facere quecumque voluerint, quia pari evidencia sunt patres beatissimi, sessuri cum Cristo iudicando ecclesiam, et post perpetuo coronandi. Non enim est ratio diversitatis assignanda, quin 10 si sequitur: talem potestatem Petro contulit; ergo illis; per idem sequitur: talem gratiam iudicandi et regnandi cum Cristo Dominus contulit Petro: ergo et illis. Unde magnus doctor Origenes super eodem loco Matth. 16 sic loquitur: "Qui episcopatus vendicant locum, utuntur hoc 15 textu; sed bene dicunt de potestate, si opera illa habent propter que dictum est Petro, *Tu es Petrus*; ut super tales edificetur ecclesia. Alioquin ridiculum est ut dicamus eum qui vinculis peccatorum suorum est ligatus et trahit peccata sua sicut funem longum et tamquam iugulorum 20 vincula iniquitates suas, propter hoc solum quod episcopus dicitur habere huiusmodi potestatem. Sit ergo episcopus irreprehensibilis cum aliis 14^{cim} que dicit apostolus, et tunc solvit: propterea, *quecumque solvit* qui huiusmodi est *erunt soluta in celo*. Si enim fuerit quis, 25 ut ita dicam, Petrus et non habuerit que in hoc loco dicuntur ad Petrum, et putaverit se posse ligare et solvere, ipse se fallit, non intelligens voluntatem scripture et inflatus incidit in iudicium diaboli".

Let the Pope remember that all his power is but the utterance of God's

Hec doctor. Et ex istis expergisceret papa, considerans 3^o similitudinem vite sue ad vitam Petri,

2. dimittens A. 3. declinat A; *ib.* diaboli DE; *ib.* et CDE.
4. dyabolus E; diabolus sophista pessimus in marg. C. 6. petro in marg. add. D; *ib.* igitur C. 7. quomodocumque ACDE. 8. patres beatissimi etiam multi in marg. C; *ib.* sessuri A. 9. perpetuo in marg. add. D. 10. signanda omnes MSS. 11. contulit Petro D. 12, 13. per — Unde deest A. 13. deus CDE; *ib.* petro contulit CE; *ib.* et deest CDE.
14. Nota Origenes in marg. A. 15. potestas solvendi quibus tradita sit in marg. sup. D. 17. petro deest D; *ib.* ut deest C. 18. episcopus quando non solvit secundum Origenem, ridiculose quando in marg. sup. C.
19. ligatus est CDE. 20. iuge lorum ACDE. 21. vinculo ACDE.
22. igitur E. 23. aliis corr. ex alii E. 24. solverit CDE. 27. ducuntur C. 27, 28. se ligare et solvere posse C. 28. vocem A.
29. diaboli DE. 30. et deest D; *ib.* expergisceret C; expergisceret corr. ex pergesceret D. 30, 31. consyderans D. 31. vocis B.

29. Origenes, Comment. in Matth. (Migne, t. XIII, series Graecae, p. 1010; ed. Ben., p. 520). The quotation is probably from memory, as it varies much from the original.

- et utrimque refrenaret inflatos pompantes, sciens ex fide quod correspondenter ad merita quo ad illum quem deus ante solvit vel ligat, papa est preco fidelis ecclesie, dum humiliter promulgat divinum iudicium; a quo
 5 discordans, fit preco patris mendacii, et presumens hec virtute sua fieri blasfemat in deum, tam se ipsum quam subditos seducendo. Quomodo, queso, haberet virtutem ad aperiendum et claudendum cuicumque voluerit portas
 10 celi, qui contra iniustos persequentes ipsum in propriis carissimis portas proprias apperire? Aut quomodo daret quibus voluerit remissionem et indulgentiam "eciam ultra diem iudicii", et post, beatitudinem perpetuam angelorum, qui non habet a deo virtutem iudicium
 15 dampnationis proprie evadendi, vel pro abiectione sua in domo domini non habet potestatem a se ipso iram dei ac odium avertendi? vel ad contratam de qua dicit se habere plenum dominium quemquam regulum quem diligit promovendi? Cum enim omnis caritas debet in-
 20 cipere a se ipsa, stultus foret et ineptus minister dei, qui habens infinitum thesaurum dispensandum, assecurat alios de beatitudine per eius distribucionem largifluam, et tamen permittit animam suam perire perpetuo. Revera qui vel est ineptus vel negligens, ut partem tanti thesauri
 25 sibi recipiat, est valde ineptus ut constituatur super tot bona domini distribuenda quibuscunque voluerit; cum sit superbus minister luciferi, dedignans porcionem tam caram elemosyne sibi ipsi recipere.
- Stultus, inquam, laicus qui confidit in tam abiecto,
 30 blasfemo, atque maniaco, dum libere possit merendo ad Christum accedere, tali detestando yppocrita postposito et defecto. Nec propter verba sua blasfema erit melius apud deum; sed potius incredulitate vel consensu sue blasfemie contaminabitur apud deum.

sentence; if his own disagrees with it, he blasphemes.

Can he open the gates of Heaven, who has no earthly power against his persecutors or in favour of his friends?

Can he save and absolve others who may himself be a castaway, and cannot even set up a friendly prince in the land he claims to rule?

Having such treasures, why can he not apply them to himself?

A warning to laymen.

1. utrumque ABCE; *ib.* inflatos *in marg. add.* D; *ib.* pompantos A; pomponticos C; papaticos D; popaticos E. 2. ad merita absolutio promulgatur *in marg. inf.* C. 3. non pro vel A; *ib.* papa preco fidelis quando *in marg.* C. 4. in deest B. 5. papa multa non potest *in marg. sup.* C. 6. aperire DE. 7. ultra *in marg. corr.* E. 8. angelorum perpetuam DE. 9. prope A. 10. ptatem C. 11. contractam *in marg.* A; contractam C; *ib.* de qua *corr.* ex que D. 12. indulgentias quare non daret papa *in marg. inf.* C. 13. ipso C; *ib.* ineptus negligens minister papa *in marg. inf.* C. 14. thesaurum DE; *ib.* et assecurat omnes MSS. A. 15. perie A. 16. thesauri DE. 17. quam pro sibi A. 18. cuicumque C. 19. porcionem *corr.* ex percionem E. 20. elemosyne deest A; care elemosine CDE; *ib.* recipere *in marg. add.* D. 21. laici et eciam religiosi periculose lconsentiunt ministro luciferi *in marg. sup.* C; laicus DE. 22. incredulitate CD.

A warning to
the Friars and
monks, who
persecute those
that spread
Gospel truth.

Et non obstante fide et spe habenda in Iesu, eciam in religiosis deletur caritas; et potestatem anticristi blasfeme paliant, ac contra seminantes veritatem ewangelicam | instant sophistice, vel patule persecuntur; sic 36
quod, dominante dolo, vocata ecclesia est plena blasfemia. Nam sive religiosi proprietarii, sive angelus de celo, consensit isti blasfemie, sive approbando, sive tacendo vecorditer, gracia prosperitatis mundane, nisi redeat ad partem Cristi eternis ignibus deputabitur.

3. psalliant B; palliant CDE; *ib.* et E. 4. sollicitate ABC; *ib.* patulo C; *ib.* persequuntur C; persecuntur *corr. ex* secuntur D. 5. dominate A.
6. sive *deest* C; sive expropriarii sive angelus CDE. 7. concesserit C; consenserit DE. 9. dampnabitur ACD; dabitur *in marg.* E.

CAPITULUM TERCIVM.

Sed scrutando radicem lapsus ecclesie, videtur quod eadem sit radix symonie, apostasie atque blasfemie. Nam radix sathane et scole anticristi videtur stare in illa persona que magis mendaciter simulat vices Cristi. Sunt autem huius scole principia, ex quibus secuntur conclusiones sathane, cum quibus populus est cecatus. Primum, videtur quod eo ipso quo quis eligitur in romanum pontificem, ipse est caput ecclesie totius militantis et summus vicarius Cristi in terris. Secundum principium: Quidquid concernens fidem ipse decreverit, ipsum est ut ewangelium acceptandum. Et 3^m principium est quod leges sue sunt plus quam ewangelium exequende. Ex ista triplicitate secuntur blasfemie infinite. Et licet scola anticristi supponat ista tria tamquam principia per se nota, tamen licet fideli notificando venenum arguere contra illa.

Contra primum: videtur quod sit notorie blasfemum mendacium. Nam factum docet multos tales fuisse capitales apostotas, ut hic supponitur: ergo, illud contra quod militat factum notorium est fallax principium ut sit metrum in omni accione morali totius praxis ecclesie. Item, nullus est talis Cristi vicarius, nisi habuerit supereminenciam virtutum. Sed blasfemum est dicere

Three principles stand at the root of this blasphemy: I. Every Bishop of Rome is Christ's Vicar. II. He is infallible in matters of faith; III. His laws are above the Gospel. These Wyclif attacks.

Many Popes are, as a fact, apostates, not Christ's Vicars.

Christ's vicar must have great virtue, which neither

1. capitulum tercivm deest (margini numerus "3" rubro colore adscriptus est) C; nigro colore E. 2. radicem lapsus CDE. 3. radix simonie apostasie blasfemie C; simonie D. 4. sequuntur C. 5. est populus E. 6. principia tria scole anticristi destruuntur in marg. sup. C. 7. caput E. 8. totius militantis ecclesie CE; post militantis in marg. repetitum est: ecclesie. 9. quicquid C; quicquid E. 10. decretum eius ut ewangelium in marg. C. 11. et deest ACDE. 12. leges eius ultra ewangelium in marg. C. 13. et pro ex C; ib. sequuntur C. 14. post ista scriptum erat: triplicitate secuntur blasfemie infinite sed totum deletum et in marg. add. est: tria D. 15. in deest B; ib. totius deest B.

1. For reasons stated in the Introduction, it has been considered unnecessary to continue the collation of the MSS. marked D and E any further than the beginning of the third chapter.

Christ nor his electors give; these, not having it themselves, quod vel electores dant sibi talem gradum virtutum, vel quod oportet deum sibi assistere sic donando; ergo principium non est verum. Electores vero non habent potestatem conferendi talem gradum sibi ipsis; quomodo ergo conferrent hec dona extranee persone quam tam 5 contrariando elegerant? Unde diffinicio dei est Iac. ca^o I^o: *“Quod omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum desursum est, descendens a patre luminum; in qua donacione nullus communicat homo mendax. Et secundum videtur nimis blasphemum quod electores regu- 10 lariter deum necessitant tantum dare: tunc enim essent indubie plus quam deus. Item, deus non eo ipso assistit electo per gratiam quo Cristum ipsum elegerit; sed quelibet eleccio Cristi est infinitum melior quam eleccio cardinalium vel romani populi, qui elegit Silvestrum; 15 ergo non oportet deum sic assistere cuicunque eleccioni romani pontificis. Maior patet de eleccione Scarioth, quem Cristus indubie virtuosius et sic melius elegit, quam cardinales vel alii scirent eligere romanum pontificem. Et patet minor ex supereminencia virtutis Christi a qua 20 cuncta sua opera processerunt, et ex fructu eleccionis Scarioth, ut dicitur posterius. Locus autem civitatis Rome est inpertinens sanctitati, ut patet in tractatu de papa, et testatur scriptura 2 Mach. 5^o. 2. Mac. V, 17*

and being unable to compel God by their votes. Even Christ's election of Iscariot failed to give him such virtue; how much less any other!

Every election is null that does not aim at choosing one of the elect; now these aim only at giving worldly power. Item, deitas in eleccione hominum ponit gradus, 25 B. quia aliter foret ecclesia ordine destituta; sed nulla eleccio electorum pape est valida, nisi de quanto exemplata fuerit ab eleccione divina: ergo ipsi non eligerent regulariter papas, ponendo eis imperium pontificum. Sicut enim sunt dispares in bonitate, ita videtur 30 (cum non sit potestas nisi a deo; ad Roma. 13^o), quod sunt dispares in potestate. Si enim sunt presciti esse membra diaboli, quomodo daret eis dominus paritatem potestatis cum predestinatis quibus *dedit potestatem filios dei fieri?* Periculosum itaque est blasfeme mentiri, 35 quod quilibet papa est paris potestatis cum Cristo humanitus, cum Petro, et quolibet alio sancto papa. Et patet minor argumenti, ex hoc quod oportet deum

Joan. I, 12

5. igitur C. 6. Jacobi 1. C. 12. assisteret B. 14. quam eleccio deest C. 15. rōni A. 16. debet pro oportet C. 17. rōni A. 19. rōnū (et sic postea) A. 20. Christi deest A. 24. 2 deest A; ib. Machabe^o C. 25. elcōe AC. 26. ordinacione. 29, 30. potatum, sed in marg. corr. pōtificum C. 33. mēb^a A. 33, 34. potestatem A.

prevenire in omni accione laudabili vel illaudabili cuiuscunque creature.

Item, foret blasphema presumpcio, in his que concernunt salutem magni populi temere diffinire; sed sic est in
 5 quacunque eleccione Romani pontificis, si non esset ad hoc revelacio: ergo, sic eligere foret blasphema presumpcio. Maior patet ex hoc quod blasphema foret presumpcio dare homini medicinam ex qua verisimiliter vel probabiliter crederetur quod ipse perderet vitam istam corpoream.
 10 Multo magis foret blasphemum mentiri sic de deo. Et minor patet ex hoc quod, instituens quemquam in Romanum pontificem dat magnam occasionem credendi quod ipse sit precellenter electus dei, et quod suis monitis regulariter est credendum. Istud autem fallit
 15 ut plurimum. Ideo periculosum videtur seminare in ecclesia tale mendacium. Non enim aptatur ad hoc
 1. Cor. I, 27 regula dei dicentis in sancto apostolo primo Cor. 1^o: *Infirma mundi deus eligit, ut forcias queque confundat*; ut, inquam, ostendatur, non mundana prudentia, non
 20 terrena potencia, sed divina, elegit deus apostolos ad conquiendum sibi regnum ecclesie, ut confundat queque terrena forcias tamquam inutilia ad hunc finem. Qui autem innitur eligere plus mundi potentes, plus in mundana sapientia prepollentes, ut loco Cristi presint
 25 ecclesie, contra Cristum innitur *terrene sapientie, animalis et diabolice*.
 Jac. III, 15 Item, eo ipso quo quis statuit quemquam caput ecclesie, statuit eum predestinatum, cum solum talis sit pars ecclesie, ut hic supponitur. Sed nimis blasphemum
 30 esset electores statuere vel diffinire predestinacionem huiusmodi: ergo et suum convertibile. Considerarent
 37^a itaque electores | pape quam potestatem et fidem necessitantur fideles sibi tribuere, et cavendo de periculo accionis improvide, expectarent revelacionem divinam
 35 vel ommitterent super se huiusmodi onus cumulare. Sic
 Act. I, 23-26 enim fecerunt capitales apostoli, act. 1^o, in elegendo Mathiam apostolum; quod foret longe minus, quam eligendo summum et simillimum Cristi vicarium. Eligere

It is great presumption to decide on the election of a Pope without a special revelation; greater than to give a patient a very dangerous remedy; for the fact of the election leads men to believe that the Pope is the elect of God, wrongly in most cases.

As the Head of the Church must be of the Elect, they can no more choose such a Head than they can predestinate him; they should therefore beware and await a Divine revelation, or give up the task.

5. in *pro* ad B. 10. multum B. 14. requiritur A; requitur C.
 15. quam *pro* ut C. 17. aplo 'los 1^o A. 18. forciora B. 23. autem *deest* AC. 24. ppoles A. 30. diffamare A. 31. generis *pro* ergo A; igitur *pro* ergo C. 32, 33. nūciat *sed in marg.*: necessitantur A; necessitant BC. 34. acconia A. 35. obmitterent C; *ib.* Sicut AB.

Not that it is
wrong for them
to choose the
best man as
Bishop of
Rome.

This first
principle
destroyed, at
we once destroy
the other two,
and put three
others in their
place.

1. None is more
likely to be
Antichrist than
the Roman
Pontiff, having
such power to
deceive, set
himself above
Christ, and
defend his
crimes.

2. The Pope is
to be believed
only when his
words agree
with Scripture,
the standard of
our faith and
deeds, and the
treasure of
truth, to which
even Christ
recurred.

autem possunt homines episcopum civitatis romane quem
rite credunt plus habilem ad hoc ministerium. Sed
inponere sibi quod, eo ipso, sit caput tocius militantis
ecclesie, summus Cristi vicarius, videtur nimis magna
blasfemia. Moderni itaque prepositi didicerunt a patre 5
mendacii pompare in accumulato honore et pretensione
potestatis abscondite, sed defalcare de multitudine ope-
racionis fructifere.

Mille sunt tales evidencie docentes quod primum prin-
cipium de scola anticristi sit mendacium plenum veneno, 10
et eius oppositum sit veritas proxima per se nota. Et
eadem est consideracio de aliis duobus principiis cum
conclusionibus ex ipsis sequentibus. Ideo sunt alia tria
principia catholice amplectenda. *Primum*: nullus viator
est aprior romano pontifice ut sit vicarius principalis 15
sathane et precipuus anticristus. Patet ex hoc quod ipse
potest faciliter fraudare ecclesiam in yppocrisi et omni
mendacio. Item, ipse potest plus calide se ipsum super
Cristum extollere; et talis, iuxta testimonium scripture,
est prior ut sit maximus anticristus. Nam *rex super 20*
omnes filios superbie, et pater mendacii, aptavit sibi Job.
talem vicarium qui false potestatem et dignitatem pom-
pando pretendit, ut indulgenciis et aliis cautelis plurem
plebem decipiat, et magistro suo in peccato similior
profundius ex post ruat. Et iterum nemo potest peccuniam 25
plus symoniace cumulare, et sic complices de secta
magog, pro defendendo suo facinore, lacius, diuturnius,
et sceleracius agregare; sed hec omnia testantur con-
dicionis maximas anticristi.

Secunda conclusio: Non est credendum romano pon-
tifici in materia fidei, nisi de quanto se fundaverit in
scriptura. Patet sic: In omni genere est unum principium,
quod est metrum et mensura omnium aliorum; et per
consequens, in genere faciendi vel credendi, standum
est ad tale principium, quod non est fingendum, nisi 35
scriptura, que est testimonium dei. Papa enim sepe
erravit in fide. Item, secundum Augustinum 2^o *de doctrina*

2. humilem A. 4. sumus A. 6. hōre A: onere BC; *ib.* p̄fessione A.

9, 10. p^m pn^m A; p^m pn^m cipiu B. 11. pxi A. 13. et ex A.
14. amplectenda B. 20. est *aeest* B; *ib.* magnus A; maximus BC.
23. aliis eciam B. 25. profundius *deest*; zp⁹ A.

32. *Unum principium*. Arist. ed. Did. tome II, p. 307, l. 1.
37. Aug. *De Doctrina Christiana*. "Quidquid homo extra didicerit, si
noxium est, ibi damnatur; si utile, ibi invenitur (Migne, CXXIV, p. 65).

D. *christiana* in fine, omnis veritas est in scriptura; non est credendum romano pontifici, nisi in veritate: ergo, non est credendum, nisi in scriptura, in qua est omnis fundacio veritatis. Item, Cristus summus pontifex fundavit

5 se humanitus eciam contra diabolum in scriptura, ut patet Matth. 4. Et sic fecit in omnibus factis suis, ut patet discurrendo per ea que scripta sunt de illo. Qui ergo est Romanus pontifex, qui dedignatur fundare se in lege Domini vel scriptura, cum sit potissimum et

10 dignissimum fundamentum? Si enim dedignatur se fundare in illa, dicens se habere potestatem interpretandi ipsam quomodocunque voluerit, et supplendi eius defectus, tunc blasfemat ut demonium meridianum. Et illud revocaret illum a condendis articulis fidei ut novis 15 legibus sed debet illa a deo complete condita, tamquam servus humilis, declarare. Et cum debet usque ad sobrietatem sapere, debet humiliter in sancta ignorantia reticere; et idem est iudicium de tota ecclesia militante. Et patet impossibilitas secundi principii anticristi.

20 Tercia conclusio: Blasfemum foret papam vel alium plus credere, magis diligere vel exequi magis sollicite leges proprias, quam legem Cristi et dei. Patet ex hoc, quod lex ad legem se habet ut legifer ad legiferum. Sed blasfemum foret in istis equiparare pure creaturam

25 creatori: ergo, blasfemum foret equiparare vel superaddere legem creature propriam legi dei. Voco autem legem creature propriam, quam statuit et nescit ipsam clare elicere ex scriptura. Item, proportionaliter ut quis diligit Cristum debet diligere eius legem; ut hic

30 supponitur et alibi declaratum est. Sed cum omnis fidelis debet infinitum plus diligere Cristum quam aliquam pure creaturam, videtur quod proportionaliter debet diligere legem Cristi. Omnes, inquam, fatemur quod diligimus deum super omnia; sed dileccio legis

35 dei iudicat veritatem. Item, proportionaliter ut affectus noster est ad aliquid, sic exequimur eius complecionem. Si affectus noster, ut dicimus, debet esse maxime in legem Christi, ergo debemus proportionaliter exequi eius complecionem. Omnes itaque dicimus deo illud Mt. 6°:

th.
10

The Pope ought not to disdain Scripture, and make articles of faith, but expound it humbly, or keep silence.

It is blasphemy to follow any man rather than Scripture, thus equalling a creature with the Creator, loving him more than Christ, and not doing God's will.

2. igitur C. 5. q. ecia A. 7-10. qui — enim *deest* A. 8. qui non omnes MSS. 12. libuerit BC. 14. vel C. 16. declarare in marg. C. 23. se habet *deest* B. 24. 25. blasphemum — ergo *deest* B. 28. clare A; clare elicere ipsam C. 35. sue pro dei A. 36. ad ali^a A; a'd C; *ib.* ex^a A. 37-39. Si — complecionem *deest* A. 37. Sed pro si C; *ib.* circa pro in C.

Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in celo et in terra etc. Et cum, licet non faciamus quod sit voluntas dei, nisi in complectione legis sue, tamen in hoc torpemus tamquam deo degeneres. Et patet falsitas tercii principii anticristi.

It follows that the Orders, depending on the Pope's decree, and all such decrees not founded on Scripture, should be done away with;

that the clergy should obey no Church laws save those of Christ;

and that the good which may follow from the present system proves nothing in its favour.

If God's law is to be their standard of action, it can hardly be so more than verbally.

These errors are very dangerous, for they create

Ex istis tribus principiis potest fidelis colligere quod omnes privati ordines, qui non habent aliud fundamentum quam determinacionem papalem, cessare debeant. Et per idem omnes determinaciones romani pontificis, que non sunt patenter elicibiles ex scriptura. Et patet quam levis est evidencia: si romanus pontifex cum quotquot episcopis decreverit quod eukaristia sit accidens sine subiecto, vel tales ordines confirmaverit, ergo verum. Secundo, videtur quod totus clerus debet, dimissa solitudine legum papalium, legi Cristi intendere, etsi dicatur quod totales huiusmodi sit lex Cristi; quia, cum diabolus transfiguratur se in angelum lucis, nec auctor legis dignatur fundare tradiciones suas in lege divina, ideo est pium et securum catholice quiescere in illis legibus que sunt patule in scriptura. Et patet 3^o ut sepe asserui, quod non est color, si ex istis tradicionibus multa bona eveniunt, ergo sunt a fidelibus exequenda. Nam ex peccato primi angeli et primi hominis, ymmo ex quocunque malo, occasionaliter et per gratiam dei multa bona eveniunt. Ideo non est color, si ex privatis ordinibus et propriis legibus cum suis defensionibus multa bona proveniunt, ergo non sunt iniuste. Ideo oportet ad legem Cristi, ut regulam directivam, attendere, et ipsis iuxta positis videre ipsas non in aliquo dissonare: quod videtur difficile, cum vel propter talia privata lege dei dimissa omnes eis afficimur vel, lege dei postposita, nimis remisse eam exequimur. Et quomocunque loquimur, factum nostrum et consciencia dictant ista implicate esse vera. Quis, inquam, religiosus non nimis appreciatur tradiciones privatas, ut in studio, in valore et observacione plus eis attendat, vel minus respiciat legem Cristi? Et conformiter de studentibus alias leges hominum factum clamat istud, eciam negatum a nobis, quo ad conscienciam esse verum. Nec sunt dissimulandi errores predicti, quia continuata obliquitas a rectitudine

1. fiat C; *ib.* tamen omnes MSS. 2. faciamus quod non omnes MSS;
ib. fit C. 3. cum C. 4. filis A. 12. igitur. 13. debet *deest* C.
15. tamen B. 16. nec *deest* A. 19. qui B. 20. sic *pro* sepe A.
21. igitur C. 30. afficiuntur AB; *ib.* ut *pro* vel AB. 32. dcant A.
33. implicita AB. 38. diffilandi A. 39. obliq'sara^{ne} A.

- Cristi preparat ad ruinam. Religiones itaque private, et divisions, every man seeking his own welfare;
 affidaciones indurate sue regule, generant divisiones et sectas proprietarias in ecclesia sancta dei. Ex hoc enim querunt refuge que sua sunt, vel non querunt (vel nimis
 F. 5 remisse) bona communia que sunt Cristi. Et patet fideli quod affectio proprietatis in homine interiori preponderans sapit symoniam, apostasiam, blasphemiam, et dampnabilitatem perpetuam; et per consequens subversionem populi in ducibus qui traherent ad concordiam
 10 legis dei. Si inquam totus populus foret unius secte cristiane, tanquam vir unus, et tota sollicitudo discordie versa foret ad studium concordie legis dei, quis dubitat quin ecclesia foret concordior et disposicior ad amorem? Ideo, ve illis qui auctorisant et seminant sectas tales!
 15 Posset enim populus ad tempus tenere sectas momentaneas, sicut fecit apostolus act. 2^o; sed tota indignitas consistit in dispositione indissolubili istorum rituum.
 II, 44 Per hoc enim equiparat blasphemus tradicionem suarum observancias legi dei: quod deus non potest. Ideo videtur,
 20 quod secte iste novelle sapiunt omnino blasphemiam, cum repugnat sapientie divine ordinare hos particulares ritus cuicunque persone date secte perpetuo observandos. Ideo deus legitur dedisse maximas, totum genus hominum obligantes. Et quantum ad modos vivendi, cum possunt
 25 et debent secundum personas, etates, et alias circumstantias quantumlibet variari, deus reliquit istam variationem prudentie humane. Quis ergo posset statuere quod totum genus date secte debet sic vivere? Papa enim non potest istud debitum statuere; sic nec potest
 30 aptitudinem totius secte future cognoscere.

Sed contra istud arguitur per hoc quod necesse est totam ecclesiam habere unum capitaneum conversantem; cuius religio non staret, nisi sibi ut capiti obediret.

Objection: The Church needs a Head.
Answer: The best Head is

3. sancta deest B. 4. refuge corr. ex refugere A; ib. minus; m⁹ A.
 5. bō ymo q̄ A; ib. ymmo pro communia A. 7. et blasphemiam A.
 15. in marg. nota B. 16. 20 C. 21. observandas A. 24. vivendi deest BC. 27. igitur C. 31. in marg. obieccio B.

17. Wyclif, in *De Apostasia* (cap. I, p. 15, l. 33) understands the perpetuity of Papal confirmation of religious orders to mean "so long as God shall allow their existence"; which agrees with Clement VII's abolition of the Templars, and in later times, Clement XIV's dissolution of the Jesuits. It is curious that Wyclif does not allude to the first case. Though the Templars were not in the same category as the Friars, still the Pope's action in their case was a striking precedent.

Christ; all
others, unless
they bring men
to Him, are
hurtful.

It was expedient
even for Christ
to leave His
Apostles; so it
is better not to
have any visible
chief.

Besides, this is
an occasion of
schism in the
Church, and
ought to be
abolished; as
also all
hierarchical
dignities.

We are all
brethren, as
Christ says,
and should not
take other titles.

Hic dicitur, ut sepe alibi, quod sufficit cristianismum
Cristum habere conversantem secum ad tempus et postea
in celo ad dexteram dei patris residentem; quia cum
ista fuerit operacio spiritus sancti, credendum est quod
fuit aprior. Unde quicumque capitaneus militantis ecclesie 5
non prodest sed obest, nisi de quanto moverit suos
subditos ad ipsum in celestibus aspirare. Ideo ad istum
sensem dicit Joh. ewangelista cap. 17: *Expedit vobis ut*
ego vadam. Et ista sententia dicta est in fine tractatus
de Apostasia. Sicut ergo est expeditus militanti ecclesie 10
quod Cristus sic ascenderit, quam quod semper cum
ecclesia militaret: sic foret expeditus quod tota ecclesia
militans aspiraret ad eum et reciperet ab eo inspira-
cionem fidei, quam quod constituat super se unum
capitaneum secundum legem maioritatis cesaree. Et si 15
aliquis haberet ex dono dei humiliter servire ecclesie,
non alte sapiat, nec querat preter domini dei eleccionem
humanam vel cartam aliam.

Joan.
XVI, 7

Item, omnis occasio scismatis, apostasie vel blasfemie G.
debet tolli ab ecclesia. Sed precipua occasio omnium 20
istorum est prelatorum graduacio humanitus adinventata:
ergo racionabiliter debet tolli. Minor argumenti patet
ex hoc quod ex hinc prelati querunt gloriam suam, non
gloriam domini Jesu Cristi, contra apostolum I. Cor. 10: 25
Omnia in gloriam Cristi facite. Quis, inquam, prelatus ex
divisione | predicta non querit honorem suum humanum 38*
eciam plus quam honorem Cristi? Vel ad minimum
dividitur cultus sive intensio honorandi propter gradua-
cionem istam adinventam. Facta ostendunt quod singuli
(quia omnes) quasi querunt gloriam suam. Ista enim est 30
occasio quare venit dissensio de qua loquitur apostolus
II. Thess. 2^o; ut patet de secta machometi et aliis. Si
enim essemus in reputatione omnes fratres, sicut
fuerunt apostoli, nec aliquis reputaretur maior, nisi ut
foret abscondite apud deum virtuosior, cessaret con- 35

I Cor.
X, 31

1. cristianissimum; xaniffim A. 2. postmodum BC. 4. fuerit *deest*
omnes MSS; *ib.* aprophanacio A. 5. milit^o A. 9. est *deest* AC.
10. Sic igitur C. 11. quod *deest* A. 13. in deum A. 22. igitur C.
23. per C. 24. apl'm Cor. 10 A. 26. mundanum BC. 28. intencio BC;
ib. horadi A. 29. adiuveniendam B; *ib.* facto AC. 30. qui *pro* quia C.
33. repugnacione A. 34. repugnaretur A.

10. De Apostasia, cap. XVII, p. 237, l. 15 et seq. 31. There
is (2 Thess. II, 3) mention of *discessio*, but none of *dissensio*;
nor is there anything approaching to that sense. Wyclif's copy
of the Vulgate may have had *dissensio*.

Matth.
XXIII, 8

tencionis elacio. Et ista videtur doctrina Cristi, Matt. 23^o:

Nolite, inquit, *vocari rabi; unus enim est magister vester,*
et omnes vos fratres estis, etc. Et istam sententiam

pulcre declarat beatus Jeronimus cap. 18^a ad Ewandrum,

ubi declarat primo ex fide scripture multiplicis, quod

olim omnis sacerdos vel presbiter fuit episcopus, et e

contra; 2^o declarat quod dyaconatus est inferior sacer-

docio; et 3^o dicit quod diutina consuetudo vel humana

ordinacio, licet mutet nomen, non potest tamen mutare

officii dignitatem. "Quid", inquit, "profers michi unius

urbis consuetudinem? quid paucitatem, de qua ortum

est supercilium in leges ecclesie vendicas?" Si, inquam,

consilium romanum ordinat dyacones suos cardinales et

ut sic prestanciores aliis episcopis, quid hoc ad fidei

veritatem? Unde conclusio huius sancti est quod qui-

cunque, presbiter sive episcopus, precellunt in moribus,

sunt maiores. Cum enim convertibiliter sequatur: *Petrus*

est maior quoad deum: igitur Petrus est maior; Deus

autem non appreciatur adiacenciam temporalium, nisi

foras reprobando: manifestum est quod quicumque fuerit

H. maior in moribus est maior eo ipso. Unde Jeronimus,

ubi supra: "Ubicunque", inquit, "fuerit episcopus, sive

Rome sive alibi, eiusdem meriti eiusdemque sacerdocii

potencia diviciarum et paupertatis humilitas vel subli-

miorem vel inferiorem episcopum facit. Ceterum, omnes

apostolorum successores sunt". Ideo, ut declarat eadem

epistola, "primo indifferenter nominabantur presbiteri; sed

quod postea unus electus est, qui ceteris preponeretur,

in scismatis remedium factum est, ne unusquisque

trahens ad se, ecclesiam Cristi rumperet". Unde in epist.

ad Demetriadem, que sic incipit: *Omnibus divine scripture*

paginis ewangelium antecellit, sic scribitur: "Ac dicis,

supra Petrum fundatur ecclesia; licet id ipsum in alio

St. Jerome
says, writing of
the different
degrees in Holy
Orders, that
custom changes
nothing as to
faith;

that riches or
poverty may
make a bishop
higher or lower,
but all are
successors of
the Apostles;

and that,
though the
Church was
based upon the
Twelve, one
was set over
them to avoid
all schism.

2. est enim C. 3. omnes enim BC. 7. inferius omnes MSS.
9. ordinacio deest C; ib. tamen deest A. 14. sint pro sic C; ib. alienis A.
18. ergo C. 21. J'o9 A. 23. romane A sed in marg.: Rome.
31. demet'and, A.

12. Hieronymus, Ep. Ad Evangelum. Migne, t. XXII, p. 1194
(ed. Bened. 1083).

15. It is a remarkable fact that many
bishops who are cardinals are so only under the title of deacons.
As is known there are three classes in this Church dignity,
bishops, priests, and deacons. A man who is only in Minor
Orders may be a cardinal deacon, it being supposed that he intends
taking Sacred Orders; should he marry, however, he loses his
dignity. 32. Hieron. Migne, t. XXIII, pag. 279 (ed. Bened.).

loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni celorum accipiant, et ex equo super eos ecclesie fortitudo solidetur: tamen propterea inter 12^{cim} unus eligitur ut, capite constituto, scismatis tollatur occasio". Sic igitur, sicut nomen est eversum in sacramento altaris, vocando 5 illud accidens sine subiecto; sic eversum est nomen, officium, et dignitas prelatorum. Deus enim ordinavit quod regulariter pauperior, humilior et servicior pro tollendo scismate foret maior. Sed diabolus, mundus, et caro dogmatisant quod fama populari celebrior, mundo 10 dicio et strepitu temporali potencior sit in ecclesia Cristi superior: et illud blasphemum mendacium confundit ecclesiam.

Item, propter talem principatum sunt prelati et eorum sententia plena blasfemia: igitur est racionabiliter sub- 15 trahenda. Antecedens patet de multiplicacione legum papalium, ut de eleccionibus, de provisionibus, et similibus, que sunt sepe manifeste contraria legi dei. Cum igitur ista causant principia pollitice conversacionis ecclesie, et "modicus error in principio sit causa pergrandis in fine"; 20 manifestum est quod oportet ex ista contrariacione a voluntate divina ecclesiam errare multipliciter in progressu. Et idem patet de indulgenciis, privilegiis et aliis blasfemiis patentibus vendicatis. Quoad leges adinventas, dictum est in tractatu de religione 2^o cap. Nam manifestum est 25 quod ewangelizantes et multo magis statuentes contrarium legi dei, ut ecclesia ipsum observet, sunt anathematizati, ut docet apostolus Gall. 1^o. Nec dubium quin omne falsum vel irracionabile est preter ewangelium, quia illud sibi contrarium. Nec excusat ignorancia sic statuentes a 30 blasfemia, quia apostolus fuit blasphemus, putando se parare obsequium deo; ut patet Thimo. 1^o. Multo magis qui gratis seminant leges ad regulandum ecclesiam que

But everything is changed now: instead of humility, pride gives greatness in the Church.

And this is the cause of many blasphemies.

Among others, of indulgences, and of new laws.

Ignorance is no excuse; and the Church will never be cured until delivered from this evil.

Gal. 1, 8, 9

1 Tim. 1, 13

2. quo pro equo omnes MSS. 3. XII C. 6. ipsum pro illud C; ib. est deest C. 8. smcor A: servitivor(?) B. 10. quo A. 11. populari A. 12. mda^m A. 14. pⁿlatu (sic) A. 18. sepe deest C; ib. dei A. 23. blasfemis B; blasfemiis C. 23, 24. bla^fens po^{lib} A. 24. po^{lib} C. 26. scientes A. 28. gilla A. 26. est deest B; ib. aliud A; aliquid C. 27. ignoranciam C; ib. a deest C. 29. deo deest A.

20. Aristotle. Polit. V, c. 3 (ed. Didot, vol. I, p. 568, l. 48). This *dictum* is very frequently quoted by Aquinas and other medieval authors in regard to philosophical truth; but Wyclif seems to employ it in much the same sense as Aristotle.

inmediate obviat legi dei. Et pro ista sententia faciat Crisostomus opere imperfecto, omelia 5, et declaratum est in fine libri tercii. Nec unquam evacuabitur ab ecclesia ista legum blasfemia, quamdiu ecclesia stat fedata temporalibus, extra religionem quam Christus instituit; quia omnes tales satrape dicunt implicite quod sunt sapientiores et in providencia meliores domino Jesu Christo. Ideo dicit Crisostomus: "Non", inquit, "potest mens humana directicare quod sapiencia divina dictabat. Sic enim ait Salomon, proverb. 30: *Non addas verbis dei nec detrahas vide*. Quis enim est ausus hec, facere se sapientiores quam putat deum?" O quam multi sunt blasfemi isto anathemate innodati! quia omnes qui falsum vel irrationabile statuunt, aut preter autoritatem scripture pro sponse Cristi regimine.

Debent igitur sacerdotes Cristi fragmenta panis scripture colligere, et panem venenosum extra eius formam abicere; quia aliter non induunt formam Cristi discipuli, sed scelestissimi anticristi. Cum enim Christus precepit apostolis *colligere fragmenta, ne pereant*, ut patet Joh. 6. Per quod notatur secundum sanctos, quod prepositi ecclesie, gerentes vicem apostolorum, debent colligere cum sollicitudine subtiles sensus in scriptura implicatos ad pascendum ecclesiam; cum autem, secundum Augustinum, in scriptura sit omnis veritas, ille prelatus nimis blasfeme degenerat, qui, dimisso ignito verbo domini, intendit pro pascendo populo verbis fallacibus adinventis. Nam idem foret hoc facere, et extollendo anticristum supra deum, Cristum deserere. Ideo, deuter. 14^o precipitur et proverb. 30^o repetitur quod *homo nec addat nec subtrahat verbis dei*.

Priests should feed Christ's flock with bread, not poison; that bread is Scripture, in which is all truth: such as do otherwise are blasphemers.

9. directicare A; *ib.* dictabit B. 11. ^{um} detrahant A. 12. putat quam omnes MSS. 24. enim pro autem omnes MSS. 25. sacra sit B. 26. igitur A. 27. populo deest A. 29. Cristum deest A; *ib.* 4^o B. 30. non AC.

10. The Vulgate has: *Ne addas quidquam verbis illius, et arguaris, inveniariusque mendax.*

CAPITULUM QUARTUM.

God, having placed man in this world only to serve Him and yearn towards Heaven, has given him to this end the example of the natural heaven, of the Sacrament, and of Christ's person.

Constat ex fide quomodo nedum in principio quod A. est verbum, deus creavit mundum (scilicet celum et terram, que inter omnia eius opera sunt maxime distancia tam naturaliter quam localiter), hominem autem cum 5 instrumentis suis posuit deus in medio, ut secundum amorem, qui est pondus anime, deo et celestibus constanter adhereat, et terrena, nisi de quanto sunt ad hec necessaria, religiose postponat. Unde omnis apostasia in declinatione ad temporalia est fundata. Deus autem, 10 sicut docuit in apostolo suo Jacobo precipuam partem religionis sue esse hominem *se custodire immaculatum ab hoc seculo*; sic posuit, secundum evidenciam exempli triplicis, quomodo homo aspiraret religiose ad celestia, et apostasiam qua meus afficitur opacis terrestribus 15 declinaret. Primum est exemplum naturale quo deus ordinavit celum spere sublunari influere regendo inferiora, et secundum lucem ac tenebras cum aliis vicissitudinibus temporum alternari. Secundum est exemplum sacramentale, in quo deus posuit panem qui est basis 20 corporalis alimenti, ut figuret fidelibus et sit quodammodo corpus Cristi. Sed tertium exemplum est supernaturale, in quo deitas et humanitas sunt personaliter idem homo. Et omnes istos gradus deus instituit, ut revocet hominem a temporalibus ad eterna. 25

The error concerning the Sacrament argues a want of that unworldliness

Error autem in exemplo medio secundum generationem signa querencium prenosticat errorem in vita ecclesie. Omnes autem hereses, scilicet symonia, apostasia et blasfemia, fundantur in declinatione animi ad terrena.

1. Cap. 4^m in red ink AC; deest B. 2. quod deus C. 9. aposto^m A.
19. alternare C. 21. ut deest A.

7. *Pondus anime*. This beautiful and deeply philosophical definition of love is not, of Wyclif's invention. See St. Augustine, Confessions (Migne, t. XXXII, p. 848). Also t. XXXIII, p. 212, 213, 677).

Nemo enim vult inordinate commutare temporalia pro eternis, spiritualia pro temporalibus, nisi qui inordinate afficitur ad terrena, et per consequens non sine hoc committitur symonia. Et ita videtur obligacio, de quo 5 psal. 124^o: *Declinantes autem in obligationes adducet dominus cum operantibus iniquitatem.* Et 2^o, nemo excedit limites Cristi religionis, nisi cuius animus nimis afficitur ad terrena. Ideo docet Jacobus, quia secunda pars religionis est hominem *se immaculatum custodire ab hoc seculo*. Unde orat ecclesia, "ut sic transeamus per bona temporalia ut non amittamus eterna"; "ut deus doceat nos terrena despicere et amare celestia" et "ut terrenis affectionibus mitigatis facilius celestia capiamus".

which the words of the Church show should be our greatest desire.

Ex ista sententia ecclesie cum experientia et fide 5 scripture colligitur quod omnis heresis vel peccatum in militante ecclesia stat in libra in qua affectus ad temporalia et eterna. Appendiculum autem breve temporalium preponderatur, dum omnes querunt que sua sunt secundum rationem qua illis sunt propria, et non secundum 20 rationem qua sunt communia communis domini Jesu Cristi. Et sic longum appendiculum eque libre quo affectus viatoris eterna respiceret non libratur. Ipsum enim brachium, propter carenciam ponderis quod fidelis in lance affectus acciperet, non curatur. Et tamen, sicut 25 celum est corpus supremum, latissimum, clarissimum et plenum influencia luminis et sanctis spiritibus, sic terra est corpus infimum, strictissimum, opacissimum et plenum corrupcionibus atque demonibus. Et hec creditur ratio quare diabolus tantum allicit hominem ad terrena. 30 Sophista enim, rationi contrarius et primus apostata, nititur ducere scolam suam ad metam blasfemie: quod fit, quando falsitati plus applauditur quam fructui veritatis. Unde diabolus, propter hoc quod suggit sangwinem

All heresies proceed from too great attachment to things temporal.

We do not hold the balance equal; though Heaven and earth are not to be compared, the latter prevails.

It is the devil's work.

5. after 124 dicitur C. 11. edoceat A. 12. cestia A. 14. Et pro ex A.
16. affectionis BC. 18. sua deest A. 20, 21. gnia dni chū x̄ C.
24. accipiet A. 28. corporibus B; corrupcionis C. 33. suggerit A.

10. Brev. Rom. Coll. pro Dom. III post. Pent. 33. It is possible that these words may embody the superstition that devils drank the blood of witches:

"There's one come down to fetch his dues;
A kiss, a coll, a sip of blood."

(The Witch, by Middleton.)

But Wyclif, as usual, takes the mystic meaning and spiritualizes everything.

ex spiritibus quibus letificarentur et alleviarentur filii Ps. IV, 3
hominum gravi corde, dicitur proverb. 30 sanguisuga. Prov. XXX, 15
 He is a leech, hidden in marshes of corruption, and has two daughters: hypocrisy and tyranny.
Sanguisuge, inquit, *due sunt filie dicentes, affer, affer.*
 Constat quidem quod ecclesia militans resultat ex popularibus tamquam terra, ex mundi potentibus tamquam lignis, et ex clericis tamquam herbis. Diabolus autem, latens in paludibus vel locis putridis, habet de clericis et mundi potentibus duas perversas filias, scilicet yppocritas et tyrannos. Cantus autem eorum precipuus est scopare populum, spoliando ipsum temporalibus, dicendo 10 suis tyronibus: *affer affer.* Et sicut arbusta spinosa ac herbe mortifere de terra germinant et per accidens proficiunt, licet multum in particulari officiant; sic 39* est de dictis yppocritis et tyrannis.

But the Pope, the Cardinals, the Bishops, the arch-deacons, the officials, the deans, the rectors, the priests, the monks, the friars, the doorkeepers and the questors are also of the race: i. e. if they are corrupt.
 But how many of the Church officials live the lives of the Apostles? So many are Christ's servants; the others are the adherents of Antichrist.
 Sunt autem in clero duodecim filie sanguisuge cum 15 suis complicibus: scilicet, papa, cardinales, episcopi, archidiaconi, officiales, decani, rectores, presbiteri, monachi, fratres, ostiarii, et questores. Sed (quia granum et palea possunt abscondi sub istis nominibus) ideo suppono quod de pseudo-talibus fiat sermo, quod ex eo discerni 20 poterit quod de fastu et questu symoniace procreantur. Non enim licet nominare vel acceptare officium cleri C. in ecclesia, nisi de quanto in lege Cristi fuerit approbatus; sed necesse est ut diabolus, onerans ecclesiam cum ritibus et temporalibus, oneret eam etiam cum suis 25 officiariis, qui blasfeme spolient pauperes et simplices matris ecclesie. Consideremus ergo statum expropriarium statui innocencie simillimum, quem Cristus vixit et docuit suos apostolos laborando spiritualiter observare; et consideremus, quot officarii in clero sic laborando 30 retinent istum statum. Et tot sunt fideles servi Cristi. Alii autem sunt complices anticristi; et servata ista sententia, non oneraretur ecclesia cum raptoribus et discolis dissipantibus scolam Cristi. Quicunque enim, pensato suo ministerio per se edificativo ecclesie, ipsam 35 alleviat, non onustat; et ipsam secundum viam virtutum trahit ad celestia, non deprimit ad terrena: omnis, inquam, talis est fidelis servus Cristi et adiutor domini, ac penna columbe, que ipsam transvehat per mare huius

1. et omnes MSS.; ib. litificaretur A. 2. 3^a A. 5. potentatibus BC.
 11. suis *deest* A. 21. procurantur C. 22. acceptare *deest* C. 24. est
deest A; ib. honerans ecciam C. 28. falsissimum A; simillimum *pro*
 falsissimum C. 35. edificative AB; edificacio C. 38. Christ *deest* BC.

seculi ad eterna. Et phariseus condicionis opposite est servus dampnabilis, proditor sponse Cristi.

Et patet quomodo pseudopapa discernitur a fideli. Si enim querit que sua sunt, detrahens subditos suos
 5 peccati pondere ad infernum, quis dubitat quin terrenorum cupiditas ipsum faciat anticristum? Primum autem venenum notabile post Cristum effusum in ecclesia dicitur ortum ex dotacione romani pontificis, sub Constantino cesare et Silvestro, de qua dist. 96, *Con-*
 10 *stantinus imperator*. Primo autem blasphematur, extollendo Silvestrum super omne quod dicitur deus, quod non potuit peccare, sic recipiendo dotacionem ecclesie. Quod est contra decretum Cipriani, positum dist. 8. "Si solus," inquit, "Cristus audiendus est, non debemus attendere
 15 quod alius ante nos faciendum putaverit, sed quid qui ante nos omnes est, Cristus, prior fecerit." Et idem sentenciat Augustinus in sermone *de vita clericorum*, posito 17^a quest. 4 ca^o ultimo sub his verbis: "Quicumque wult, exhereditato filio, heredem facere ecclesiam, querat
 20 alium qui suscipiat, non Augustinum: ymmo, deo propicio, neminem inveniet. Quam laudabile fuit factum sancti Aurelii cartaginiensis episcopi! Quidam enim, dum filios non haberet, nec speraret, res suas omnes, retento sibi usufructu, donavit ecclesie. Nati sunt ei filii:
 25 reddidit ei episcopus omnia; nec opinanti ea, que illi donaverat in potestate habebat episcopus non reddere, sed iure fori, non iure poli."

D. Ecce primo quomodo sancti horruerant, quando parum lapsi sunt a Cristi pauperie, quod super ipsos cumuletur
 30 lapsus gravior. Et indubie vel oportet dicere quod Augustinus in hoc dicto dissensit tali dotacioni, et inprecatus fuit non fore aliquam in futurum, vel quod tamquam infidelis in ista lege dissipuit. Sed retento primo membro, patet evidencius quod sancti prelati tenerent hodie
 35 eandem sentenciam. Nunc enim est ecclesia plus temporalibus inviscata, et inpetracionibus subdole plus sunt invente.

The false Pope can be known by his attachment to earthly things.

The endowment of the Church by Constantine, accepted by St. Sylvester, was a great calamity and contrary to the spirit of the Fathers.

Augustine quoted: to disinherit a son in favour of the Church is not allowable; legally right, it would be morally wrong.

Either Augustine would have been against such endowment, or inconsistent; if not the latter, all good Bishops ought now to side with him.

9. quo C. 10. Constancius C. 17. Augustinus in marg. A.
 18. in marg. nota B. 22. catha C. 23. nec speraret deest A.
 24. usu fructuum B. 25. omo C. 26. donaverit B. 33. depuit A;
 desipuit C. 34. plati A. 35. istam pro eandem C; ib. ecclesie A.
 36. inpetraciones plus subdole C. 37. invete A.

10. Decr. Grat. 1^a Pars. Dist. XCVI, c. 13. 16. Decr. Grat.
 1^a Pars. Dist. VIII, c. 9. 18. Decr. Grat. 2^a Pars. Cons. XVII,
 qu. 4, c. 43.

Both Pope and monks ought to have refused endowments, and should give them up.

Aurelius' conduct is an example to our Bishops; what he did was his duty, not before the law, but before God.

It is no use saying that in his case there were tacit conditions; for the successors of those who gave the endowments live now; so the case is the same.

And these endowments weaken the secular power;

which, according to Isidore, is a necessary supplement of Church authority.

Ex quibus colligitur quod nec pontifices nec claustrales eligerent dotacionem huiusmodi; sed fatue susceptam resignarent in manibus secularium dominorum. Sic enim recte fecit beatus Aurelius episcopus, qui fuit propterea ab Augustino merito comendatus. Nec valet dicere quod 5 illud fuit opus supererogacionis, ad quod prelati nostri non hodie sunt asstricti; quia hodie imminet maior necessitas, et prelati debent esse in hoc ita perfecti sicut fuit Aurelius. Aliter enim licet eis quantumcunque irreligiose vivere, propter istam *excusacionem in peccato*. 10 Similiter, episcopus habuit reddere *iure poli*, ut dicit Ps. Augustinus, et per consequens iure dei qui dictavit ipsum debere reddere. Sic enim voluit Augustinus: ut recitat de eo beatus Possidonius. CXL, 4

Nec valet 2^a excusacio in peccato, qua dicitur quod 15 secularis memoratus intelexit condicionem tacitam in casu quo non habuit filios vel heredes; quia per idem in omni dotacione subintelligi debet talis condicio: et omnino quod deo sit placitum. Cum igitur supersunt filii imperatorum, regum et secularium dominorum, videtur 20 quod clerus dotatus debet reddere *iure poli*. Item, ex ordinacione divina ecclesia debet constare ex mundi potentibus, ad quos necessaria est temporalis possessio. Sed hoc clerus possessionatus nititur extinguere opere vel consensu; ergo, ut sic, resistit ordinacioni divine. 25 Assumptum patet, romanorum 13. et sepe alibi; ymmo ex dicto Ysidori, posito 23 q. 5. ca^o *principes*. Et minor argumenti patet, notando omnes possessiones que sunt 30 in manu pape et cleri, ac quanta foret secularis potestas illis dominiis correspondens, que exhinc de ecclesia tollitur, et in occupacionibus exhinc deterioratis nomen domini blasfematur. Nec dubium quin hoc perpetratur consensu cleri, ad hoc multipliciter procurantis. Et cum hoc fit instinctu diaboli deteriorantis brachiumulare et dampnificantis ecclesiam, manifestum est quod potentes 35 debent in isto potestative resistere. Ad hoc enim E. portant gladium, secundum apostolum. Et testatur Ysidorus ubi supra. "Intra Ecclesiam," inquit, "potestates necessarie non essent, nisi ut, quod non prevalent sacerdotes efficere

3. restituerent C. 12. ius qui A. 14. possidanius A; possideus C.
20. imperatoris C. 23. potentantibus A. 25. igitur C. 30. dominis B.
31. occupantibus C. 32. perpetrat AB. 38. necesse. Eccie pro intra
ecclesiam A. 39. ut deest AC.

27. Decr. Grat. 2^a Pars. Caus. XXIII, qu. 5, c. 20.

per doctrine sermonem, potestas hoc imperet per discipline terrorem. Sepe per regnum terrenum celeste regnum perficit, ut qui, intra ecclesiam positi, contra fidem et disciplinam agunt, rigore principum terreantur".
 5 Quare ergo non exercent hunc gladium ad hoc sibi datum a deo, ut compellant yppocritas intrare religionem Christi quam false profitentur? "Cognoscant," inquit Ysidorus, "principes seculi deo se debere rationem, reddituros esse etiam propter ecclesiam quam a Christo tuendam
 10 suscipiunt. Nam sive augeatur pax et disciplina in ecclesia per fideles principes, sive solvatur, ille ab eis rationem exigit, qui eorum potestati suam ecclesiam credidit".

Quam, quero, rationem reddent deo seculares domini, qui propter sanguinem, pecuniam vel desidiam, per-
 15 mittunt yppocritas, ymmo, cum suis conducunt, perdere Christum et suam ecclesiam? Nam per dotaciones cecas symonia, apostasia et blasfemia sustentantur; et per consequens, irato domino, bella, dissensiones et infidelitates alie sustentantur. Cum enim oportet deum dare pacem
 20 et caritatem hominibus, si eis infuerit; homines autem illi adversantur blasfeme ordinationi divine ineptando clerum contra Christi monita, ut sit mundo plus deditus, quomodo transfunderet deus per clerum huiusmodi concordiam et amorem? Quin potius, iuxta beatum Gre-
 25 gorium, deus, aliunde placatus populo, subtraheret ex hinc ab eis spirituale suffragium. Istam igitur cecam pietatem (quin potius gravem stulticiam) portabunt principes, cum presumptuose contraveniendo ordinationi divine pri-
 30 vant se cleri suffragio, et, quod plus est, ut sic, multiplicitate perturbant rem publicam, tam temporalia quam spiritualia blasfeme et improvide dispensando, ex quo tamquam calendis diaboli causatur dissensio. Servitium enim factum diabolo est maxime difficile et sumptuosum, maxime intricabile et onerosum, ac per consequens
 35 maxime carens retributione laudabili, cum sit deo et nature contrarium.

Hec est pars mundi potentium ex pietate proditoria cum bonis dei conspirantium contra Christum: et de numero blasfemiarum que fiunt ratione potestatis secularis in clero, difficile est narrare. Ex hinc enim blas-

A most severe account will be exacted of secular lords, who, for interested motives or through mistaken piety, allow or even favour such evils.

They pervert the clergy; thence comes want of charity and lack of God's grace, great dissensions and wars; all through their folly.

For they are responsible for the blasphemies concerning the 'patrimony of the Crucified',

3. regnum *deest* A. 5. igitur C. 6. expellant B. 9. etiam AC.
 10. disciplina ecclesia C; *ib. ecclesie pro* in ecclesia B. 13. deo reddent C.
 14. segnicem A. 15. conducunt *struck out* B. 16. ceteras AC.
 17-19. et — sustentantur *deest* A. 19. suscitantur C. 23. clerus C.
 27. verius BC. 28. sumptuose AB. 29. seculi *pro* cleri A.

femant in Cristum, menciesentes quod ipse dominatus
 fuit civiliter, et vixit seculariter. In cuius signum vocant
 totum questum cleri "patrimonium crucifixi". Secundo F.
 blasfemant de papa et aliis prelatis cesareis, menciesentes
 quod iure generacionis Cristi debent summe seculariter
 dominari. Et tercio blasfemant in vendicando potestatem
 spiritualem Cristi, menciesentes quod habeant potestatem
 excommunicandi, absolvendi, dispensandi, indulgendi et
 abscondite transmutandi, ultra hoc quod ratione vel
 scriptura sciunt ostendere, vel Cristo debere competere.
 Et tandem blasfemant quod sunt fratres et amici Cristi,
 tanquam iuramento vel pacto cum eo confederati; quod
 quitquid pretenderint se facere in nomine Cristi, illud
 faciunt eo ipso. Et hinc volant blasfemie de innumera-
 bilibus milibus annorum, quibus fingitur stulte ipsos
 a pena et a culpa absolvere. Sed si plus elongantur a
 Cristi in modo vivendi, servando eius precepta et con-
 silia, quid illis et generacioni Cristi salvande? Sicut
 enim secundum legem mundanam, requiritur carnalis
 generacio ad successionem hereditariam, ita secundam
 legem divinam requiritur ad spiritualem generacionem
 filiorum dei, successio hereditaria quoad mores Cristi,
 quem oportet filios suos proxime generare. Et ita
 cecatur generacio signa querencium, quod plus atten-
 dunt ad leges humanas, quibus prelatus mundanus
 instituitur, quam ad conformitatem operum quibus scola
 Cristi mandat credere. Signum autem evidens est quod
 tales prelati sunt anticristi discipuli, si non amant do-
 minum Jesum Cristum sequendo eum in moribus, sed
 pompant de potestate sua quam deus non revelavit.
 Cristus enim vult nec se ipsum nec apostolos suos, nisi
 mediante revelacione, detegere huiusmodi potestatem.
 Nam, ut *data est sibi omnis potestas*, sic debet ad ipsum
 referri, et cristiani humile ministerium publicari. Unde
 sterilitas fructus potestatis huiusmodi signum est quod
 ypocrite blasfemant de potestate Cristi, quia si adesset
 operaretur magna, tam in prelatis quam in populo; cum

the secular
power of
Christ,

the authority to
excommunicate,
etc.,

the assumed
friendship and
brotherhood
with Christ:

for which they
should prove a
spiritual affinity
with Him,

Matth.
XXVIII.
18

1. menciesentes A. 3. petrociniū A. 4. menciesentes A. 6. ven-
dendo A. 11. tamen omnes MSS; ib. fres A. 12. tantum pro tamquam
omnes MSS. 14. hic B; huic A. 18. sicut AC. 19. humanam C;
ib. cat^hlis A. 36. ipe A.

5. Christ being of royal blood. 32. Allusion to Christ's
words: *Beatus es, Simon Bar-jona; quia caro et sanguis non
revelavit tibi, sed Pater meus qui in coelis est.*

potestas apostolorum moderate contenta fructifere pullulavit. Potestas ergo de qua se pompant non excedit
 10^a potestatem luciferi, qui non in tanta yppocrisi et illusione pape *similitudinem altissimo* simulavit. Pauci enim
 5 steterunt in hac evidenciori similitudine diaboli; nec fumus sue blasfeme superbie in opinione tam peccancium quam seductorum tam diutine ascendebat.

while their power more nearly resembles that of Lucifer.

Item, Cristus precepit apostolis suis doctrina multiplici nec diligere mundum nec mundalia; sed yppocrite, fingentes se esse Cristi vicarios, hec diligunt excessive.
 10 Ergo, cum sit tantum contra doctrinam et mandata Cristi, sequitur quod sunt discipuli anticristi. Sunt yppocrite multipliciter mendaces, simulantes falsitatem contrariam
 15 veritati. Et assumptum argumenti patet Joh. 15. *Quia vero de mundo non estis, sed ego elegi vos de mundo, propterea odit vos mundus. Mementote sermonis mei, quem ego dixi vobis: Non est servus maior domino suo.* Et eadem sententia exprimitur Joh. 2, Joh. 18 et Thi. 6. Et
 20 iterum Luc. 14 sic concludit: *Sic omnis ex vobis, qui non renuntiaverit omnibus que possidet, non potest esse meus discipulus;* ubi non dubium quin loquitur de renunciacione civili; primo, quia debuerunt renuncciare in seculo omnibus terrenis secundum preponderantem affectionem. Ille ergo qui elegit iustos cognatos de mundo, intendebat
 25 quod plus renuncciarent seculo quam homines temporales. Similiter, ut Augustinus notat, apostoli et vicarii Cristi
 30 debent singulariter comittere bellum adversus *regem super omnes filios superbie*; qui, cum sit princeps mundi, habet 20 milia bellancium contra Cristum; hoc est, universitatem temporalium ex prevaricancia duplicancium contra denarium mandatorum. Quis ergo singulariter sic agonisans contra diabolum indisponeret se inviscatus in rethi diaboli? Quin potius, sedens in fide filii, computat omnes sumptus, orando, contemplando et exhortando? Illi enim sumptus sunt necessarii ad expugnandum diabolum. Etsi Cristi vicarius non comisceat se cum mundo, tamen tota cogitacio, tota intencio, et tota

Christ's precepts are formal; absolute unworldliness and renunciation of earthly possessions for all; much more for his Apostles;

it is impossible otherwise to conquer the king of pride:

1, 2. pullulavit C. 2. igitur C; *ib.* sepe C. 5. fietn't AC.
 7. ostendebant C. 11. igitur C. 12. sunt enim B. 14. veritatem A.
 18. 1 Thym. B. 20. que pos. n. p. ee m. A. 21. quod A; *deest* B.
 24. igitur C; *ib.* in A. 25. renuncciaret C. 29. millia C. 31. igitur C.
 32. sic agonisando BC; *ib.* se *deest* A. 33, 34. computat sumptus C.
 36, 37. comisceat se mundo C. 37. se in marg. A.

4. "Similis ero Altissimo."

Even if we
strain every
nerve, the
victory is hard
to win.

Christ's deeds
are no less
formal; and
deeds are of
more weight
than words. He
had not *where*
to lay His head.

Reason and
faith agree in
this: riches are
good only in so
far as they help
heavenward,
which
superfluity
cannot do; food
and raiment
should be
enough for us.

affectio hominis distracta a mundo vix sufficit complere istam victoriam. Ideo signantissime concludit Cristus singulariter de suis discipulis: *Sic omnis ex vobis qui non renunciat omnibus que possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus*. Et patet quam multi episcopi mendaciter simulant se esse Cristi discipulos, qui nec sunt sacerdotes nec clerici, sed ex simulata iniquitate duplici capitalia membra patris mendacii.

3^o confirmatur ista sententia ex multiplici facto Cristi. Opus enim tam veracis hominis est optimus interpres 10 sensus sermonis sui. Ex hoc enim narrat Lucas, Act. I, 1 primo, quod iste magister optimus, factum preponderans, *cepit facere et docere*. Sic enim reprobatur phariseos Mat. 23, ex duplicitate verborum; *dicunt, inquit, et non faciunt*. Absit autem talis duplicitas in Cristo; ymo 15 ex fide capimus quod Cristus exemplando exposuit ad quem sensum voluit discipulos suos mundum relinquere, et illum sensum sermonis sui exponere. Ideo, cum Cristus fuit summe pauper expropriarius, ipso dicente, Mat. 8., VIII, 20 quod non habet tantum proprietatis de mundo, ut habeat 20 domicillium vel locum proprium *in quo caput suum reclinet*. Ad istum ergo sensum mandavit Cristus suis presbiteris mundum relinquere: quod servatum est quousque glosator diabolus comovit scribas suos scripturam subvertere. 25

Et concordat cum hoc lex nature, naturalis ratio et H. fides ecclesie. Constat quidem quod talis status pauperitatis est similior statui innocencie et statui glorie, sicut est similior statui quem Cristus et sui apostoli observarunt. Et ita patet ex fide quod affluentia temporalium non expedit viatori, nisi de quanto promovet ad beatitudinem aquirendam. Sed planum est ex eadem fide quod non promovet, sed tardat, omne quod habet ultra vite necessaria, et secundum modum quo recognoscat hec secundum istam rationem dari a deo: ergo, 35 cum hoc fieret innitendo divine providencie in talibus, querendo *primum regnum dei et iusticiam eius*, ut Mat. VI, 33 Cristus docuit, videtur quod ille modus habendi temporalia sit magis consonus hic in via. Et super hac lege videtur fundari regula apostoli 1. thi. 6, quam papa 40 et omnes episcopi debent specialiter observare, *habentes* 1 Tim. VI, 8

4. possi- A; *ib.* esse meus A. 14. 21 B. 16. expo'nit A. 36. dictionem *pro* divine B; *ib.* prudencie AB.

- alimenta et quibus tegamur hiis contenti simus.* "Alimenta" dicit generaliter cibum et potum cum medicinis in quantum ad medelam anime promovent; et secundum modum magis aptum ad hoc, qui indubie est modus, quem
- ⁵ Cristus constituit et servavit. Et confirmari potest ex lege veteri. Nam Jerem. 35. patet quomodo deus comendat rechabitas, quia ad preceptum Jonadab filii recab noluerunt vinum bibere, nec edificiis vel agriculture intendere. Cum ergo Cristus, deus et homo, precepit suis
- ¹⁰ tam multipliciter verbo et exemplo, ut in nichil *negociis secularibus implicentur*, videtur prelatos nostros ex recabiturum opere iudicandos. Nam secundum apostolum
- ¹ ^{1^a} cor. ultimo: *Si quis non amaverit dominum Jesum Cristum, anathema sit.* Et secundum evangelium Christi
- ^{40^b} ¹⁵ Joh. 14. *Si quis diligit Cristum | sermonem suum servabit.* and anathematized as heretics for not loving Christ, as they do not keep His commandments.
- ^{Joan.} Ex quibus videtur colligi quod tales prelati sunt excommunicati atque heretici; et per consequens pro nullis
- ² ^{Thes.} ^{III,} ¹⁴ ^{2^a} ^{Thess.} ^{3^o}. *Si quis, inquit, non obedierit verbo nostro per epistolam, hunc notate et non comisceamini cum illo, ut confundatur;* quia, ut docet apostolus ad thyt. 3^o, *Hereticum hominem debet fidelis post correptionem duplicem evitare;* et multo magis non debet fidelis dare illis taliter suas elemosinas contra
- ²⁵ Cristum.
- Et si obicitur de silvestro et aliis, non dubium quin in hoc peccant graviter, et potest esse quod fructuose postmodum sunt contriti; sicut creditur quod longe aliter ipsi quam prelati moderni occuparunt elemosinas
- ³⁰ eis datas; cece enim in ecclesia deteriorando procedunt.
1. Ex ista itaque venenosa radice credit fidelis totum dominiumulare cristianismi infectum; quia tam dominium quod clerus occupat, quam dominium eciam principum seculi. Dominium autem quod clerus occupat est spolia
- ³⁵ contra voluntatem dei plus quam tyrannice occupata; quia blasfeme contra mandatum Christi ad magnam per-
- Sylvester, in spite of his motives, sinned in accepting an endowment so pernicious that it has infected all Christendom, and heavenly signs portend calamities.

2. cum *deest* A. 7. *recabite in marg.* A; *rechabitas* C. 9. igitur C.
 10. in *deest* omnes MSS. 26. *quin deest* B. 28. *sunt deest* C.
 29. *occupaverunt* C. 30. *Ecce* C. 31. *Et pro ex* A; *ib.* 1^a itq3 ē A.
 33. q̄ = quam *pro* quod C; *ib.* *eciam deest* C. 35. *occupate* A;
 occupare C. 36. *blastemum* A; *blasphema* BC.

26. See *De Apostasia* (cap. I, p. 14, l. 18).

tubacionem sue ecclesie. In cuius signum, propter strictitudinem anguli semidiametrorum in terra concurrencium fiunt angustie, dissensiones et bella, et specialiter de vocato patrimonio crucifixi et in secta cristiana: quod indicat, cum caput nostrum Cristus non potest deficere, 5 quod vocata membra discordant a capite, a quo recipiunt celestes influencias per observanciam mandatorum.

Suppose Christ were, unknown, to blame the prelates now and condemn the traffic in Church dignities, he would be burnt as a heretic or despised as a madman: for they persecute His members in like manner for so doing.

In tantum, quod si Cristus prelatus incognitus visiteret peregrine prelatos istius ecclesie presencia corporali, instaretque inportune contra vocatos eius vicarios, sicut 10 olim institit contra minorem avariciam sacerdotum, est evidens quod excommunicarent eum in curia romana et nisi veritatem revocare voluerit, condemnarent eum ad ignem tamquam hereticum et blasphemam. Sic enim persecuntur eius membra, qui remisse nimis et vecor- 15 diter dicunt modicam scintillam conversacionis Cristi et obligacionem, prelatorum precipue, ad sequendum ipsum in moribus: ut, si tamquam rex substerneret mercandia ecclesie sicut olim, et preciperet servis suis per totum imperium quod non debent presbytero Cristi possessionem, 20 nec permittant eum quitquam occupare ultra formam quam Cristus instituit eis, quam maniacus reputaretur rex et quam excommunicatum decretum edicere! quia dampnabiliter causatur quod mundus aliter exigit hodie in prelatis, cum oportet eos seculariter vivere, eo quod 25 aliter in despectum et disparenciam potestatis presbyteri periret dignitas prelatorum. Ista autem interpellacio blasfema preponit mundum domino; quia quod mundus requirit preponderat, cum, dimissis Cristi consiliis, querit fictam apparenciam quoad mundum. Talem autem 30 maioritatem sophisticam non quesierunt apostoli, quando Petrus latuit in domo coriarii et Paulus arti scenofactorie

The Apostles Peter and Paul gave other examples; Judas had the care of the money, and the deacons, trusted in like manner, were below the Apostles.

2. angeli omnes MSS.; *ib.* semidyametrum C. 6. accipite A.
9. *platos ip istig* A; prelatos *deest* C. 10. q3 = quia A; = q3 quod C;
ib. inportue A; imptune C. 12. et *deest omnes* MSS. 14. cum B.
15. et nimis C. 17. eum; *in marg.* ipsum A. 19. ecclesie *deest* C.
20. debet omnes MSS. 22. mai'acg A. 28. blasfemo B. 29. fiff, A.
32. cai'ary A; *ib.* scenofco A; scenevecto B.

2. Being unable to find any sense in the reading *angeli*, I have supposed that the passage has something to do with astrological predictions, rife in those days. Perhaps two untoward planets were nearly in conjunction at that time and their radii, drawn from the central point *earth* made a very acute angle (cf. Sermones II, 126).

intendebat; ymmo, quando Paulus ordinavit episcopos intendere domui sue, ipso omnino egente, non scivit quod per temporalium copiam debet dignitas presbyteri mensurari. Recoluit enim quod Judas portavit loculos,

Christ's rule is that the humblest shall be the highest.

et quod diaconi, ex hoc inferiores apostolis, bona pauperum dispensarunt. Sed oportet quod tunc quassaretur contencio inter discipulos Jesu, *quis eorum videretur esse maior*; et, contempta apparencia mundani honoris, intendunt regule Cristi lu. 22, quod humilis ex maiori caritate ministrancior, licet non videtur seculo (de qua latencia gauderet), sed est de facto apud deum maior eo.

Luc.
XII,
24

Fomitem autem huius maioritatis mundane ministravit Constantinus romane ecclesie. In cuius penam creditur imperium enervatum. Nam vix invenis principem vel

Constantine's endowment has weakened both the Church and the Empire;

hereditatem terrenam quin sit isto toxico maculata. Nam, vel in occupationem anticristi laceratur dominium, vel secularis omittit causam Cristi corrigere vel expresse consentit mamnone anticristi. Ideo non mirum, si sic venenatum rethe temporalis dominii illaqueat multos

inviscatos diaboli. Oportet ergo conformiter brachiumulare concurrere, et fomitem venenose divisionis in ecclesia romana extingwere. Nec oportet timere periculum, habito oculo simplici et manu prudenti, quia pro reparacione status cleri quem Cristus instituit laboratur.

it therefore becomes a duty of the secular prince, God's vicegerent, to undo the mischief, follow Christ's example, and refuse temporal aid to priests who are in error.

Et ex fide capimus quod non peccatur sed promeretur, in quantum ex parte Cristi intencione simplici laboratur. Sicut ergo Cristus laboravit ad destruendum peccata sacerdotum, phariseorum, et scribarum, eorum fastu et questu inficiente ecclesiam, instituendo sacerdotes condicionis opposite: sic debet princeps fidelis, dei vicarius, sacerdotes suos plus evagantes extra normam Cristi corripere, et specialiter elemosinas suas subtrahere. Aliter enim cum bonis Cristi fovet proditorie partem contra ipsum. Et cum istud peccatum tantum publicatur ex parte utriusque brachii, manifestum est quod durante hac heresi non permanebit | ecclesia inturbata, sed necesse est bella, lites et prodiciones undique seminari.

41

2. ipo oio aio A. 3. per deest B. 6. dispensarent C. 10. miftior AC;
ib. quo pro qua A. 11. gaudetur B; ib. eo maior C. 12. ffoite3 A.
13. gfiat9 A. 14. ipu = impium A; ib. oneratum A. 15. ista toxica AB.
18. mamoe A. 19. venatu A; ib. relaquet BC. 20. iustos A; invisca-
tos A; in visco C; ib. concorditer B. 27. igitur C. 33. fivent C.
37. bella et lites C.

3. ebulliente C. 4. m^m A;
16. Christi *pro* est B;

CAPITULUM QUINTUM.

- A. Secunda coniugacio membrorum filie sanguisuge sunt cardinales apostate. In illis enim, ut cardine, vertuntur valve duplicitatis late vie que ducit ad baratrum. Unde illis iuxta nomen et syllabas quatuor *car-di-na-lis* describunt quidam quod cardinalis est CARior DIaboli NATus, LICium Seminar. Cum enim secundum fidem, *qui non est cum Cristo contra Cristum est*; illi autem *non congregant cum Cristo* secundum legem suam membra ecclesie secundum rationem comunem universalis Christi domini, sed *dispergunt*, dum querunt fastum et questum proprium; et quantum in eis est solvunt, multiplicando capita, unitatem: quod si habent preeminenciam in hac blasfema apostasia, manifestum est quod sunt tales.
- 15 Nomen enim impositum preter exemplum scripture non habet tantam vim numinis ut excludat cathenas diaboli et imprimat veritatem domini eo ipso. Tales igitur, sicut servando legem Christi magis proficiunt, sic apostatando magis offiunt. Unde quidam, notando 10 literas: 20 *cardinalis*, dicit quod universitas malicie in nomine illorum includitur: ac si diceretur *Cardinalis*, quasi Custos Apostotarum Regni Diaboli, iuvans Nequissimum Ad Legem Iudicis Sopiendam.

Sed quomocunque fuerit de istis verbis extra-ordinariis, in maiori parte veris, certum videtur quod officium illud cum nomine fuit culpabiliter et sine auctoritatis evidenciam introductum. Nam institutio cuiuscunque romani pontificis in summum ducem et proximum Christi vicarium fuit stulta: ergo quodcunque accessorium,

The college of Apostate Cardinals is the hinge (*cardo*) of the door of the broad way; the syllables and letters of the very word can be made to affirm their wickedness; justly, if they harm the Church.

The Cardinalate was wrongly instituted; because, Papal pretensions being wrong, whatever favours them must be wrong too.

1. 5 red ink C. 5. silabas omnes MSS. 6, 7. e car'or dia' nato
litu' ser'ator. A. 7. suscitator B. 8. contra ipsum est BC.
11. disperdunt BC. 13. habet A. 18, 19. apostado A; apostofado C.
19. 10 deest C. 24. extra deest C. 26. istud C.

ad roborandum vel consulendum istam stulticiam. Assumptum patet, eo quod non subest potestati terrene pontificem talem statuere. Ideo foret nimis magna blasfemia, hoc temptare. Et iterum, foret ewangelica sapiencia omnes sacerdotes esse socios regulatos inmediate per unum⁵ abbatem dominum nostrum Jesum Cristum. Sic enim fuit tempore apostolorum, quando crevit ecclesia; et sententia ista consonat cum scriptura. Item, non licet vel angelo de celo onerare ecclesiam vel introducere novos ritus inedicabiles vel infundabiles in scriptura.¹⁰ Sed ritus cardinalatus est nimis per se inedicativus ecclesie et infundabilis in scriptura: ergo, non licet ista statuere. Maiorem suppono ex fide, cum aliter liceret sponsam Cristi (et sic Cristum) dampnificare. Et istam perfidiam destruit apostolus ad Gall. 1^o. Minor autem¹⁵ argumenti patet ex hoc quod ante hoc nomen vel ritum introductum plus profecit ecclesie; et cardinales, deposito nomine et onere ecclesie, et ablatis fastu et questu, plus undiquaque proficerent. Notet, inquam, cardinalis, B. in quo secundum legem Cristi prodest ecclesie, in quo²⁰ non efficacius proficeret dimisso lucro, nomine et honore. Nec dubium quin in isto excessu apostotat, quia contra regulam quam Cristus instituit ad edificacionem ecclesie retrocedit. Et patet, cum potestatem istam supra Cristum vendicat, quod blasfemat.²⁵

As it would be certainly better for the Church and the cardinals if they laid aside their dignities, which have no Scripture warrant, these are unjustifiable.

A line must be drawn somewhere in the number of Church dignities; and there can be none but the line drawn by Christ, who ordained none but priests and deacons.

Item, terminus potencie et officii ministri ecclesie, ne evagetur in devium, est signandus: sed nullus, si non ille, quem Cristus instituit. Cum enim Cristus sit omnipotens, omnisciens ac summe benevolus, patet quod ratio necessitat eum incorrigibiliter ordinare, et specialiter cum³⁰ in primitiva ecclesia foret messis plurior et laboricium copiosius, ordinaret deus plurem maneriem ministrorum. Tunc autem non ordinavit nisi diacones et presbyteros. Idem autem sunt presbyteri et sacerdotes sive episcopi,

2. patet *deest* B; patet ex eo C; *ib.* potēte A. 3. nimina *pro* nimis magna B. 5. esse sacros regulatos C; *ib.* unicum C. 12. igitur C. 13. supposicionem A; *ib.* licet C. 16. patet *deest* A. 18. cum *pro* et BC. 20. quod *pro* in quo *omnes* MSS. 22. apostot A. 27. demum A. 29. et *pro* ac C; *ib.* bēmolg AC. 30. eum *deest* B; *ib.* incorr^{te} B. 31. in *deest* B. 31. laboritimum B. 32. plēm A. 33. enim B. 34. sunt *deest* BC.

33. *Ordinavit.* Wyclif seems to argue as though the Cardinalate were a special form of Holy Orders; no doubt on account of their power of electing the Pope. 34. Jeron. Ad Evangelium, *ubi supra.*

ut docet Jeron. in epist. 18 ad Evandrum, ex textu apostoli. Ideo dicit archidiaconus cum aliis concorditer, quod in tempore apostolorum non fuerunt nisi duo ordines cleri, scilicet diaconus et sacerdos.

- 5 Et quod illud foret melius patet nedum auctoritate, ratione et practica, sed levi et utili experientia. Nam certum est quod totum genus humanum est tantum finite honorificencie mundialis, cuius magna parte attributa clero in cardinalibus, necesse est totum mun-
 10 danum honorem humani generis debitum secularibus indebite dispartiri. | Et idem est iudicium de sumptuosa familia et expensis; cultor itaque vinee domini potest faciliter experiri quomodo ecclesia, quantum ad fastum et questum, foret exonerata, si fuerit isto gradu car-
 15 dinalium expurgata. Et istud deducunt quidam ex hoc, quod post dotacionem et promocionem ecclesie, multiplicata sunt (preter legem ewangelii) officia dignitatum in patriarchis et cardinalibus et aliis ministris adiacentibus, ultra hoc quod est fundabile in scriptura alterius
 20 testamenti. Et cum non proporcionaliter crescit fructus ministerii, verisimile est quod causa huius multiplicationis est cupiditas temporalium, et mundani honoris affectio. Sic enim posset hoc devium, nisi haberet frenum, procedere infinite. Et pensata regula non evacuabitur
 25 quin mensura debita per Cristum exceditur: quod foret C. nimis periculosum in principio religionis Cristi. Fatentur enim se habere in quodam ordine tamquam apostolos in profectu ecclesie: quod est evidencius in causacione defectus ecclesie. Primo enim blasfemant supra apostolos,
 30 quod sine ipsorum collegio non stat via rata ecclesie. Et cum manifestum sit quod ipsa deviat, oportet ipsos concedere quod ipsi principaliter causant hoc devium. Cum enim, ut inquiunt, habent a deo comissam curam ecclesie, vel oportet eos in se fingere defectum
 35 regiminis, vel in deo. Talis ergo blasphemus est nimis

There being but a limited amount of honour payable in the world, what goes to the cardinals is so much taken from the secular powers, burdening the Church, unscriptural, and resulting from the love of worldly glory.

They consider themselves as similar to the Apostles, and blaspheme: for if the Church is in its present state, they put the fault on God, and are therefore unworthy to rule.

1. euge^m B. 8, 9. magnam partem attributam omnes MSS.
 11. dispartiri AB. 18. car. lib. (et in marg.) cardiab. A. 19, 20. in
 altero testamento BC. 25. excedr' A. 28. caucoe C. 30. sine in
 marg. suppl. C.

2. Guido de Baisio, an Italian theologian, archdeacon of Bologna; born in Reggio; died after 1300. There are no fewer than six persons designated by the title of *Archidiaconus*. See Franklin's *Dictionnaire des pseudonymes latins*.

Their want of
submission to
Christ's law
shows this; the
more incapable
of doing good,
the prouder
they are.

indispositus ad regendum ecclesiam, quia indisponit se
quoad deum, a quo reciperet omnem veritatem sui
regiminis. Ideo implicate, licet mendaciter, dicit quod
contra voluntatem Cristi ex se et anticristo regit
ecclesiam; aliter enim submitteret se Cristo, servando⁵
legem quam Cristus instituit ad hoc opus, et excuciendo
superbos ritus et onerosos cum quibus Cristus non
coagit. Talis, inquam, est eo superbior quo est ipse ad
edificacionem ecclesie inutilior, et in fingendo gradum
alciolem quoad deum multiplicacior. Et hec ratio, quare¹⁰
apostoli non miscuerunt se cum mundanis honoribus vel
mediis ad eosdem.

It is objected
that this would
put an end to
I. endowments,
II. graduations,
III. excommuni-
cations.

I. True, this
doctrine would
put an end to
Church
endowments;
but it would
enrich the
clergy with
virtues.

And we must
destroy the
reign of
Antichrist,
consisting of
false members
of the Church,
in order to
strengthen
Christ's
kingdom, which
is not of this
world, like
Antichrist's.

All in him
contrasts with
Christ, his
pride with
Christ's
lowliness, his
riches with

Argumenta autem que fiunt ad stabiliendum papatus
vel cardinalatus officium non sunt digna memoria. Sed
contra ista arguitur per hoc, quod iuxta hanc viam¹⁵
cessaret omnis cleri dotacio, omnis eorum graduacio,
et omnis eorum excommunicacio, eo quod Cristus non
auctorisavit ista in opere vel sermone. Hic dicitur quod
(limitato sensu pertinenti) verum concluditur; debet
enim clerus dotari a Cristo virtutibus secundum quas²⁰
confirmabitur in merito vie, correspondentes ad dotes
patrie. Terrenam autem coniugacionem perpetuitatis
temporalium non debet clerus Cristi admittere.

Unde communiter dicitur quod triplex est regnum,
scilicet anticristi, principis terreni, et Cristi. Primum²⁵
est destruendum, 2^{um} consulendum, et 3^{um} adquirendum.
Primum autem regnum stat in pseudopapis, pseudo-
cardinalibus, pseudoepiscopis, cum suis abbatibus et
prelatis eis subditis. Et sicut Cristus adquirit regnum
deo patri, ut dicit apostolus 1^a Cor. 15^o; sic anticristus³⁰
est in acquirendo regnum patri suo sathane. Est enim
anticristus Cristo contrarius; quia Cristus aufugit regnum
terrenum (Joh. 6); Anticristus autem isto studio nititur
secundum regulas sathane adquirere sibi ipsum. Cristus
precepit suis censum dare cesari, recognoscendo ipsum³⁵
superiorem et dominum quoad mundum. Anticristus D.
vero non recognoscit superiorem in terris, nec vult, ut
Cristus, concedere quod vivit de puris elemosinis secu-
larium; sed subtractis elemosinis spiritualibus, fingit

10. multiplier AC. 14. cardinato A. 15. hanc per hoc A; *ib.* hanc
before viam *deest* A. 18. h' A. 21. in m'to AC; *ib.* correspon-
denter C. 25. gmt' A. 24. Nota in marg. A. 25. scilicet *deest* A.
8. episcopis B. 30. 5 AC. 31. adquirendum AC. 32. X^{te} A.
7. ut *postea suppl.* C.

- quod de suis elemosinis corporalibus vivit totum brachium
 secularē. Et sic, ubi in sinceritate et veritate est tota
 conversatio Christi, in ypocrisi et mendacio est tota
 conversatio anticristi. Christus enim vixit vitam pauperi-
 mam, non habens temporaliter proprium, ubi caput
 suum reclinet, ut hic supponitur. Anticristus autem
 supponit se dominum orbis; et certum est quod in
 falsitate mendacii, quia si illud ius possidet, constat
 quod titulo sathane (4^o Math.) Cristo mendaciter
 promittentis quod *omnia regna mundi* sibi daret, si
 cadens ipsum adoraret: quod facit anticristus totidem
 vicibus quot legem sathane et commodum temporale
 veritati Christi preponderat. Nec dubium quin mendaciter
 et blasfeme istud regnum occupatur; quia titulo quo
 ista possessio foret patrocinium crucifixi, qui sic vivens
 possessionem talem contulit anticristo vicario suo! Est
 etiam anticristus tamquam filius sathane sibi ipsi con-
 trarius, quia a Cristo non poterit tenere illud dominium,
 nisi, servando legem suam, foret precipuus sequax vite
 Christi. A quo cum olim forefaceret, patet quam iuste
 perdidit titulum quoad Christum. Et cum diffitetur se
 habere illud a principibus seculi pro servicio quod
 Christus et seculares domini limitarunt, non superest a quo,
 nisi a sathana, possideat regnum istud. Et verificata est
 propheta apostoli 2^a tessal 2^o. *Quod anticristus extollitur
 super omne quod dicitur deus.*
- 2^a Thess. II, 4. Sed consolacio est in Cristo dicente, Math. 12. *Omne
 regnum contra se divisum desolabitur. Si, inquit, sathanas
 sathanam eicit, adversus se divisus est, quomodo ergo
 stabit regnum eius?* Sathan enim qui secundum Ysid.
 vocatur adversator, potest dici dictus anticristus cum
 suis membris, qui adversatur deo, homini et sibi ipsi.
 Et cum terrenum regnum inficitur ista labe, et regna
 tam spissim insurgunt adversus regna, patet *quomodo
 sathan sathanam eicit*. Non solum | promotus anticristi,
 adeptus ecclesiasticam dignitatem, verum etiam diabolus
 in forma religiosi conquirat sceleratissime sub fuco patri-
 monii crucifixi. Ideo cum partes huius regni non sibi
 G. cohereant, ut prophetizatur dan. 3^o. necesse est ut hoc

Christ's
 poverty, his
 falsity with
 Christ's truth.

He is the son
 of Satan who
 said the world
 belonged to
 him; and as
 such he reigns
 under the false
 pretence of
 following
 Christ, which
 he has long
 ceased to do.

But his
 kingdom is
 coming to an
 end for it is
 now divided
 against itself.
 Satan being the
 adversary of
 God, of men,
 and of himself;
 and devils cast
 out devils.

2. mnda^a A. 7. se esse B. 8. quod A. 9. 14 B. 10. pro-
 mittendi omnes MSS. 10, 11. si — adoraret deest C. 12. quo A.
 16. anticristus omnes MSS. 29. sathass fatham A. 33. cum pro et
 cum B. 37, 38. pro^a A. 39. pba^a A; pphetat^a C.

regnum corruens desoletur. Secundum autem, terrenum regnum, oportet foveri in timore et pietate sub spe tercii regni acquirendi, pro quo rogamus, Mat. 6: *Adveniat regnum tuum.* Matth. VI, 10

II. Not only the Church should be disendowed, but all hierarchical degrees should be done away with, according to our doctrine, leaving only the hidden differences of personal holiness.

Sicut ergo conceditur quod cessaret omnis cristiani cleri dotacio (et ad hoc obnixe ageret quodlibet mundanum imperium, et precipuus clerus Cristi; sed pseudo-fratres subdole plus retardant); ulterius conceditur quod cessaret omnis graduacio in clero, cum omnis presbyter niteretur, quantum posset, secundum Cristi miliciam regnum anticristi destruere, et, fovendo regnum terrenum, regnum celorum recipere; sed preter, graduacionem in Cristo absconditam, correspondenter ad gradus huius milicie, in fide Cristi expetere. Et per hoc reduceretur clerus Cristi ad quantitatem proporcionalem mundi et morum ecclesie. 15

III. As for excommunications, they would also cease, for they are the Devil's weapons, and are prefigured by the treason of Judas; his use of armed men, his hypocritical kiss and his pieces of silver; and at the Day of Judgment those who excommunicate will go backwards and fall to the ground.

Et quantum ad tercium, dictum est diffuse de excommunicatione pro temporalibus, quomodo est iniusta. Diabolus enim machinatus est media per que posset sibi regnum conquirere, cum non solum excitat suos milites ad pugnandum corporaliter, sed quia robur efficax eis deficit ad expugnandum Cristi miliciam, quod paliant excommunicationem horridam in Cristi nomine: ut vel sic cristicole terreantur negare temporalia Cristi membris diaboli. Omnia autem ista sunt figurata in Scarioth, qui cum accepisset cohortem et ministros a phariseis osculo proditorio tradidit veritatem, ut dicitur Jo. 18. Sic anticristus cecat armatam miliciam secularem, hinc simulacione sanctitatis cause, hinc ministris executoribus censure terrifice, hinc ficcione sinceri amoris quo fingunt se veritatem diligere, eciam excommunicatum suum quem tam aspere persecuntur. Et evidens est quod simulant inde osculum, quia peccant gravius quoad deum. Et propter collacionem temporalium que Judas expetit erunt cum cremento inestimabilis indulgencie absolute: quod evidenter indicat ipsos non ob amorem dicte persone quam sic excommunicant, sed propter amorem peccunie medicinam terrificam taliter fulminare. Sed in finali iudicio, quando Cristus dicet eis: *Ego sum, abibunt retrorsum et cadent in terram*, quia invincibile iudicium dei et hominis, quod nullus eorum potest 25

Joan. XVIII, 3

1. hoc regnum diaboli B. 5. Sic igitur C. 10. inniteretur B.
17. 2^m C. 19. media deest C. 26. cohortem C. 37. pp ob A.
39. pasci in marg. A.

fugere nec a iudice culpam abscondere, faciet eos in tenebras exteriores corruere.

- F. Signa autem preponderantie fastus et questus super honorem dei et salutem ecclesie est modus et frequentatio excommunicacionis quam modo fulminant, ultra hoc quod Cristus et sui apostoli exemplarunt. Ipsi enim non tradiderunt quemquam sathane, nec habuerunt potestatem ad hoc, nisi proportionaliter ut demeruerit apud deum. Numquid credimus lex excommunicacionis (de qua in 7^o decretal. de penis, ca^o *felicis recordacionis*)? ubi statuitur, quod "si quis cardinalem romane ecclesie hostiliter fuerit persecutus, si percusserit vel ceperit, aut si socius fuerit facientis, sit perpetuo infamis tamquam reus criminis lese maiestatis. Sit diffidatus, sit intestabilis; nec habebit in repetendo vel respondendo in iudicio liberam accionem". Et sic de multis condicionibus infundabilibus, que sunt magis horrende quam pena pro tradicionem Cristi psalmo Scarioth prophetata. Ubi certum videtur, cum apud deum non sit personarum accepcio, quod ista lex processit ex affectione proprietaria iniuriam propriam vindicandi; quod repugnat caritati, cum exemplatur ex commentis diaboli, cui proprium est nulli dimittere sed omnino niti iniuriam propriam vindicare.

- Item, de lege dei oportet quod equalis iniuria equaliter et maior iniuria amplius puniatur. Sed sepe contingit, quod peccatum in alium non cardinalem sit gravior; ergo, iustum foret quod pena inflictas sit gravior, cum cardinalis non in quantum talis sit Cristi domini nec in domino confirmatus, sed de possibili persequens Cristum et membra eius, manifestum est ex lege divini iudicii, quod licet in casu secundum istam penam triplicem et multo acucius persequi cardinalem. Qui igitur statuit penam huiusmodi blasfemie legem statuit contra deum. Item, maior pars istarum penarum sapit blasfemiam, nec subiaceret episcopi potestati. Quomodo, queso, habet papa potestatem mandandi omnia bona talium confiscari, nisi fuerit monarcha imperans seculariter toti

The number and frequency of excommunications is a sufficient proof that they do not proceed from a right motive; they should not be disproportioned to the offence, as in a certain Decretal, which it is clear was dictated by a spirit of revenge.

Why should an offence be punished more severely, because it was against a Cardinal? Not necessarily belonging to Christ, not confirmed in grace, and perhaps a persecutor, he may himself merit the severest punishment. Whence has the Pope power to command such penalties?

5. non pro modo A. 6. ex-1-nt (sic) A. 8. ad — nisi deest C.
10. quo B; ib. 6^o B; ib. a^o A. 11. cardinales A. 12. insecutus B.
13. socius deest B; ib. condicionis AB. 15. rñdedo (sic) A. 16. ligam
pro liberam B. 18. primo B. 20. pceff^u A. 22. exemplar excom-
municantes A. 23. debet pro sed A; d3 (= debet) C. 27. igitur C;
ib. insita A. 28. Cristus A. 31. licet deest A.

Again,
disinheritance
is unjust.
No one should
suffer but for
his own sins.

mundo? et sic de ruina habitacionis talium et exclusione
communicacionis politice cum republica. Quomodo in- Ezech.
super inhabitabitur in herede, cum lex dei Ezech. ponit XVIII,
in libertate arbitrii filiorum vel patrisare vel degenerare 2
et secundum hoc retribucionem recipere? et sic undique 5
de ignorancia condignitatis pene inflite; sic quod
tollerabilius foret cardinalatum non esse quam tam
spissim et tam perseveranter sub forma legis perpetue
blasfemare.

Query:
Whether all
the prelates are
heretics? Some
heretics are
only so-called,
some are real,
i. e. such as
God knows to
be so because
they are in
mortal sin.
Who keeps
God's law is a
Catholic; who
does not is a
heretic.

2º principaliter arguitur, quod omnes tales prelati 10 G.
forent heretici et per consequens tam in accionibus suis
quam passionibus forent reputandi tamquam heretici 42^b
et tractandi: consequens inopinabile. Hic dicitur quod
in finali iudicio multi cognoscentur heretici qui modo
reputantur archicristiani. Ideo distinguitur communiter, 15
pocius pro modo loquendi quam pro veritate rei, quod
dupliciter dicitur hereticus: scilicet *vere* et *nuncupative*.
Vere, quem deus noscit prescitum ab ecclesia propter
sua scelera; et solum talis est de facto hereticus. Sed
nuncupative hereticus est quem iudices vel iniqui reputant 20
hereticum; et hoc est impertinens ad esse hereticum.
Cristus enim fuit reputatus summe hereticus, quia blas-
femus et propterea occidendus. Unde probabiliter creditur
quod nostri prelati, sicut fuit in veteri testamento, dam-
nant multos tamquam hereticos, et secundum divinum 25
iudicium est e contra. Et sic omnes prelati nostri presciti
vel peccantes mortaliter sunt heretici; et sicut est in talibus
iudicium erroneum, sic plurimum nocent ecclesie, quic-
quid fecerint. Iudicium autem infallibile de hereticis atque
catholicis est quod omnis qui servaverit legem Cristi 30
est catholicus, et solum talis. Et quicumque dissolverit
legem Cristi est hereticus, et solum talis. Et in utroque
sunt multi gradus et iudicium ecclesie variatum.

It is blasphemy
to say that the
Pope can decide
who is a
heretic.

This is itself a
heresy,
implying
impeccability
on the part of
the judge.

Sed inter omnes blasfemias istius materie, una de
maximis est quod nemo creditur esse hereticus nisi 35
a papa vel iudice sibi subdeputato fuerit iudicatus
pro tali; et tunc est hereticus eo ipso. Nam sic iusti-
ficaretur iudicium sacerdotum condemnancium Cristum
ad mortem, et nostri prelati extollerentur *super omne*
quod dicitur deus, cum tantum variando a Cristi vita 40

3. lex dei C; *ib.* Exceielis B. 8. et tam perseveranter *deest* A.
13, 14. et — modo *deest* A. 16. pocius *deest* AC. 18. prescitum *deest* AC.
24. lege vel C. 27. peccatores A; ptores C. 32. talis *deest* C.
34. intra *pro* materie A. 36. obiecto *pro* subdeputato B; sub^{to} f C.

forent impeccabiles, quod aures fidelium abhorrerent. Unde quam evidenter creditur quod prelati exhorbitant a Cristi vestigiis, tam evidenter cognoscitur quod sunt heretici; et eo gravius, quo magis et constancius declinant. Et in ista sententia catholica debent omnes cristiani usque ad mortem stare concorditer. Oportet enim credere quod Cristus est caput universalis ecclesie, quem oportet omnem salvandum sequi in conversacione; et eo propius quo in ecclesia superius. Et iuxta hanc
 10 fidem oporteret fideles disponere se ad martyrium
 H. contra anticristum. Jam enim machinatum est per falsos fratres novum genus martyrii, quod quicumque fuerit impetitus super heretica pravitate debet sibi proponi a prelato vel iudice, et debet ille simpliciter concedere
 15 vel negare; quo concesso, debet indilate exponi ad ignem sine responso ulteriori. Unde superadditur quod episcopi ipsi, propter hoc quod tolerant tales hereticos, sunt a suis episcopis deponendi.

Contra istam blasphemiam invehitur. *Primo*: sepe contingit quod tam prelati quam iudices errant in fide, iudicando de valde fideli sententia quod sit heretica; quo habito, si sic procederetur ad iudicium, iudicaretur temere contra fidem. Ergo iudicaretur taliter; sed consequens est blasphemum. Qui autem tenet quod non
 25 contingit prelatos vel iudices errare in isto, blasfeme extollit eos supra Cristum. Nam qui non potest errare invidia vel ignorancia in tali iudicio non potest errare simpliciter.

Item, ista lex foret contra misericordiam, et per consequens contra omnipotenciam trinitatis, et per consequens foret plena blasfemia. Nam staret cum assumpto quod quidam foret inpotens ad concedendum vel negandum expresse sibi impositum. Staret eciam quod haberet a deo lumen intelligencie ad convincendum suos iudices
 35 super stulto iudicio, sicut Daniel convicerat sacerdotes. Et staret tercio quod contritus de sua pertinacia fructuose doleat de commisso. Quod cum repugnaret divine clemencie ut adeo dampnetur, patet quam blasphemum foret falsum illud pro lege statuere. Nam illud non, sed

Christ alone is Head of the Church, and we should follow Him alone, and suffer martyrdom for this truth.

A new sort of martyrdom; the accused must answer yes or no, and if yes, be at once burnt as a heretic, and his bishop be deposed for tolerating him.

This is protested against, i. because the judges are themselves apt to err out of hatred or ignorance.

Such proceedings, allowing of no explanation, no argument to convince the judges, no room for repentance, are cruel, contrary to Christ's and indeed to all law, unless it be Mahomet's.

1. abhorrent A. 2. quod C. 4. sic pro et B. 14. illud B.
 16, 17. episcopi deest A. 17. quod postea suppl. C; ib. extulerant B.
 18. episcopis in marg. A. 20. errent omnes MSS. 22. a iudice A.
 23. igitur C. 24. blasphemum A; ib. Quod pro qui A. 27. vel negligencia sive ignorancia C. 31. plana B. 37. convinceret A; conviscerat B.
 36. ut pro et B; ib. primo pro tercio B. 39. scripture sive stature (sic) C.

lex contraria, ordinatur pro hereticis in lege domini. Unde nulla lex mundi, nisi forte fuerit lex machomete, condempnavit convictum, nisi premittat responsum. Nam in finali iudicio prescitus concedet irrevocabiliter crimen suum. 5

As for the deposing of bishops, it is a plot laid by an apostate to get fat bishoprics for himself. For a Friar who becomes a bishop is an apostate unless as zealous, as poor and as humble as before.

Item, quantum ad illud apostaticum, patet quod non subest ratio, nisi forte talis pseudo velit episcopatus pinguiore symoniace spoliare, sicut episcopatum symoniace in curia perquisivit. Symoniace dico; quia non dubium, I. si propter fastum et lucrum statum expropriarium 10 pauperis fratris deseruit et non propter amorem salutis anime subditorum, tunc est manifestus hereticus. Quod convinci poterit, si diligencius post onus suscepti regiminis curat animas subditorum, et si servaverit paupertatem et penalitatem fratris solitam, cum maiori humili- 15 tate et ceteris virtutibus; cum tamen ista sint compossibilia episcopo; et propter perfeccionem dimitti non debeant, sed augeri.

A Friar, becoming a rich bishop can hardly fail to apostatize; he keeps the garb but neglects the mortifying practices of his Order.

Et forte coram deo et humano iudicio pauci vel nulli sunt fratres ad episcopatus pingwes promoti, qui non 20 apostotant, quia in religione domini retrocedunt. Nam perfeccionem ordinis quam oportet se ipsos concedere, pretermittunt, cum tot animas et tam meritorie edificare poterint; sed ex antiqua yppocrisi patris sui servant accidencia sui habitus, ut colorem, quantitatem et figuram 25 extrinsecam, et dimittunt ritus penales absconditos, in quibus sua religio | servaretur; quia cultores et con- 43* secratores accidencium, tamquam *generacio adultera*, Luc. VI, 42 *signa querunt*. Sed, *yppocrita, eice primum trabem de oculo tuo, et tunc poteris festucam de oculo episcopi 30 confratris tui detrachere*. Si enim sub negligencia symoniaca sunt in tua diocesi mille heretici, qua fronte hortaris episcopum sub pena amissionis episcopii, quod in loco exempto condempnet tamquam hereticum in

Hypocrite, wouldst thou depose a brother bishop, when thousands of heretics are in thy own diocese?

3. condempnabit C. 7. volet C. 9. in contratta curta pro in curia B. 11. fratris deest AC. 12. tunc deest A. 13. onus deest B. 18. augi A. 25. sine habitu A. 27, 28. consectores C. 31. deicere B.

12. Wyclif names nobody; but his contemporaries must have known pretty well whom he was describing: a rich bishop, author of the scheme he attacks, and formerly a Friar. In Ch. XIII, he says "*quidam frater Londoniis . . . asseruit publice hominem sine responso comburendum tanquam hereticum*." Though it is not usual to call a Bishop "friar", this may have been the same person. After *poterit* I should supply *quaerendo*.

- materia quàm blaterando nescis concipere? Certum quippe est, secundum legem talionis, quod tu es coronatus hereticus, nisi ostenderis personam quam sic cece accusas esse hereticam. Cece, dico tibi, quia nude ex revelacione mendaciorum quibus mendacia accumulasti. Et ista foret nimis ceca probacio ad convincendum hereticum, potissime quia persona illa accusata de heresi protestatur et erit parata continue revocare, si debeat. Et talis secundum legem Cristi non est hereticus.
- 10 Sed vereor quod iste episcopus nescit corrigere in hac parte. Stat enim difficultas de quidditate sacramenti altaris; persona autem accusata dicit cum scriptura quod est panis secundum naturam et est corpus Cristi per miraculum. Pars autem adversa dicit quod est
- 15 secundum naturam abiectius quam aliqua substantia, et miraculum non se extendit, ut faciat ipsum esse corpus Cristi; sed ut ipsum, privatum subiecto, sit K. signum corporis Cristi. In isto autem episcopus nescit hereticare aliquem, nisi forte heresi mendaci ficta maculet
- 20 prius mundum. Sed a *periculo in falsis fratribus libera* nos domine! Ipsum enim, ut recitat apostolus 2^a Cor. 2, 2 Cor. XI, 26 est ultimum; et, ut dicit Augustinus, est maximum. Si enim hereticus nititur subvertere legem Cristi, sine responso comburendo mendaciter accusatum de heresi,
- 25 quis non timeret tale meridianum demonium? Sed spes est quod corruet cum attemptet sibi impossibile contra Cristum. Quis, rogo, episcopus non deponeretur, si permissio heretici in sua heresi diocesi sit causa sufficiens deponendi? Tunc enim deponendus foret episcopus animarum, Cristus, cum scienter permittit Iudam et istum refugam cum multis similibus. Sicut enim errat in scandalisando fratres de heresi, sic errat a lege Cristi in modo condemnandi hereticos; cum Cristus precipit in suo apostolo hereticum devitare, Thimot. 3^o. Timendum est quod *de ore proprio* iudicabitur *servus nequam*, cum
- Luc. XIX, 22

He whom thou
blindly accusest
in a matter thou
canst not
understand,
without proofs,
(except lies),
protests, and
will recant, if
need be.

This is the
point: the
accused says
that the
Sacrament, by
nature bread,
is Christ's body
by a miracle;
his opponents
give it the most
abject nature,
and deny that
it is more than
the sign of
Christ's Body.
Who is the
heretic?

Who but he
who would
burn the
accused without
allowing him to
answer?

Every bishop
would have to
be deposed for
suffering
heretics;
Christ Himself
suffered Judas
and suffers this
apostate too.

4. esse deest B; ib. tibi deest C. 5. mendacium pro mendaciorum

omnes MSS. 12. aut acca² accat² A. 17. ut deest B. 19. hre pro
hereticare A. 30. istam B. 31. similibus deest C. 33. ymmo pro
in modo A. 34. tit^m 3 C.

1. As is shown by the sequel, this refers to the Eucharistic controversy. Wyclif has fairly lost patience with his adversary; yet it must be confessed that his own system of philosophy is so subtle, and his view of the Eucharist, connected therewith, so difficult to understand, that 'nescis concipere' is hardly an insult.

lignorancia crassa et ceca desidia permittat culpabiliter multos hereticos in sua diocesi delitere, sicut faciunt illi qui foveant hereticos propter lucrum.

Heretical prelates ought to be severely punished by the people of Christ. In the Old Law they were put to death; in the New, a miracle or the civil power should alone do that. Christ rebuked His disciples when they wished to bring down fire from heaven. The prelates in our time think otherwise.

Sed 3^o arguitur principaliter per hoc quod heretici sunt severius castigandi. Si ergo predicti prelati supponi debent esse heretici, debent a populo castigari. Consequens foret nimis turbativum ecclesie. Hic dicitur quod illud consequens debet concedi et praticari. Pro quo notandum quod in lege veteri heretici debuerunt occidi, ut patet levitici 14. Et hinc sacerdotes et pharisei, imponentes Cristo blasphemiam, dixerunt Joh. 19. *Nos legem habemus et secundum legem debet mori*. Secundum legem novam non legi hereticum a cristiano iudicialiter occidendum, sed secundum dei miraculum (ut patet de Anania et Zaphira, Act. 5^o), et secundum leges civiles. Cristus autem videtur docere luc. 9. quod tale iudicium ewangelicum ad mortem non debuit exerceri; sed, impressa misericordia et memoria finalis iudicii, talia debent servari usque ad finale regis Cristi iudicium, de quo Mat. 25^o. Unde luce 9 legitur, quomodo *facies Jesu erat cum discipulis suis versus ierusalem* et samaritani propterea ipsos abiecerant, Jacobus autem et Johannes dixerunt, *Domine, vis, dicamus ut descendat ignis de celo et consumat eos, sicut Elias fecit? Et conversus increpavit eos, dicens: Nescitis, cuius spiritus estis; filius enim hominis non venit animas perdere sed salvare*. Satrape vero non per ignem de celo, sed per ignem scelestum sepe comburunt fideles, quia eis displicent arguendo. Ac si dicerent "oportet nos propter nostrum civile dominium legem Cristi differre et pena alia mixtim civili et mixtim prophetica vindicare; quia, cum sumus dii in terris, iudicamus istum prescitum eternis ignibus comburendum". Et sic anticristus extollitur super Cristum.

How heretics are to be dealt with: Scripture, in four places, says distinctly that they should be avoided.

Si autem queratur qua pena debet puniri hereticus, I. dicitur quod Cristus Mt. 18. prohibet comunicacionem cum illo, quando precipit quod *sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus*. Et idem docet ewangelista, Joh. mandans quod *nec ave ei dixeritis*; quia dicendo ei *ave* comunicat operibus eius ex consensu. Et 3^o apostolus precipit Thymoteo *hereticum devitare*. Causam autem huius

1. permittit AC. 2. licere A; delicare C. 4. dicti BC 8. pectus A.
9. quod deest C. 15. 5 deest B. 19. Cristi deest B. 24. helias C.
28. eis deest B; ib. ac^{do} B. 29. diceret A. 30. desuper pro differre A,
deferre C. 35. 14 A. 38, 39. communicabit BC.

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²⁴ pene convertit generaliter 2 Tess. 3^o. *Si quis, inquit, non obedit verbo nostro per epistolam, hunc notate, et*
³⁵ *non comisceamini | cum illo, ut confundatur.* Ista autem lex de punitione heretici foret sufficiens, nisi subintro-
⁵ ductus fuerit legifer anticristus. Et si queritur quis erit iudex exequens istam legem contra hereticos, dicitur quod persona ecclesie secundum quodcumque membrum ad hoc sufficiat. Exemplum autem secundum quod iudicabitur, est scriptura quam omnes fideles debent
¹⁰ cognoscere.

Every member of the Church should be judge, and the standard to judge by, Holy Writ.

Sed dubitatur de gradu comunicacionis et modo iudicandi hereticum. Videtur autem quod opera declinancia a vita et mandatis Cristi sufficiunt ad illud iudicium. Nam opera plus debent credi quam paliatum
¹⁵ eciam pape iudicium, quia illi non debet credi, nisi de quanto fideliter vincitur ex opere et scriptura. Si autem sit sententia que non scitur notorie ad scripturam consequens vel repugnans iudici, debet de illa silentium tamquam falsa. Illa autem que concernunt mores, ut
²⁰ peccata publica, debent omnimode suspendi. In clerico autem qui debet esse elemosinarius secularis brachii obturari debet per negacionem temporalis suffragii. Cum Joh. ewangelista dicat in eius secunda epistola. *Si quis venit ad vos et doctrinam Cristi non affert, nolite eum*
²⁵ *recipere in domum nec ave ei dixeritis;* ubi patet quod exigitur doctrina veritatis tam vita quam verbo. Et excluditur ab apostatis domicilium et comunicacio verbalis; et multo magis supererrogacio elemosine preter necessarie. Videtur enim quod necessitas vite penalis debet dari in ultima necessitate, quantumcunque inimicus ecclesie, quia Roman. 12 dicitur: *Si esurierit inimicus tuus, ciba illum; si sitit, potum da illi.* Quod intelligitur de necessitate ultima, modo dicto; quoad illam partem ecclesie que ad hoc sufficit.

Deeds contrary to the life of Christ and his law, ought to suffice for a sentence; and if any were neither in agreement with nor contrary to that, the faithful should suspend their judgment. No indulgence is to be shown to public sinners, and the clergy, if heretic, should be denied subsistence beyond the barest needs of penitential life.

³⁵ Sed difficultas perplexa videtur, quomodo laici ministrare debent cardinalibus et aliis clericis notorie degenerantibus a Cristo in decimis et aliis elemosinis in principio limitatis. Et videtur quod contraveniens excommunicatur, incarcerationatur et diffamatur tamquam
⁴⁰ hereticus. Et confirmari potest modus agendi, ex hoc quod

A difficulty: whether the faithful may pay tithes, etc. to bad priests and prelates, on account of the consequences of refusal;

9. quem B. 11. de pro et B. 18. illo omnes MSS.; ib. similitudinem A.

19. illi B. 20. omnino B. 25. dom; dominum A. 29. nccit^m (sic) C. 29, 30. Videtur — quantumcunque deest AB. 31, 32. inimicus tuus deest B.

secular
superiors exact
their dues,
whether their
life is good or
not.

Negatived; by
doing so, they
would incur
excommuni-
cation, and the
cardinals, &c.
have no civil
dues to exact.

Alms should
not become the
spoils of the
greedy; and if
a secular lord
permits this,
he weakens his
own power, for
the apostates
no longer
consider these
as alms, but as
a right, and set
themselves
above him;
temporalities
are called
spiritual goods,
that he may
fear to take
them back.

While abbots
are multiplied,
Christ our
abbot's life is
less esteemed;

potentatus seculi exigit a suo subiecto servicium debitum, quantumcunque irregulariter vixerit, cum inferioris non interest de vita superioris discutere. Hic dicitur quod debent stare regule ewangelii in clericis modo dicto. Et quantum ad excommunicationem debet populus et specia-⁵ liter superiores constanter resistere, scientes quod propter huiusmodi desidiam incurrerent excommunicationem a domino; et ista est una de maximis ruinis religionis quam per anticristum diabolus introduxit, ut sepe dictum est in materia de excommunicatione cecante populum.¹⁰ Et quantum ad argumentum factum per locum *a simili*, patet, quod est *simialis* argucia, nisi doceatur quod cardinales et alii clerici super elimosinis secularium et bonis pauperum civiliter dominantur. Aliter enim omnem legem cassaret exaccio. Lex enim iniqua non est lex.¹⁵ Conceditur tamen quod tirranni, exigendo redditus a subditis, peccant mortaliter, sicut faciunt quidquid aliud faciendo. Ideo nimis foret diabolicum quod clerus extorqueret sacrilege spolia a subditis per hunc locum *a simili*. Vulgus enim debet pati iniuriam a seculari potente,²⁰ et ab ippocrita elemosinas suas subtrahere.

Quod sic talis elemosina pervertitur in rapinam, ve seculari domino qui ex desidia tam permittit invalescere istam rabiem anticristi! Ex hoc enim inperficit suam regaliā sive dominium, cum principalis sua servitus²⁵ deo sit potenter regere subditos secundum legem Cristi contra refugam. Ipse enim vendicat dominantes, abiecto titulo elemosine, tam in temporalibus quam in spiri- tualibus super omnes seculares dominos presidere. Et sic, sicut conquirendo de alio brachio temporalia, baptisat³⁰ ea spiritualia, ut eorum detencio plus a secularibus timeatur; sic cum eis sophisticat in sacramento eucaristie et qualicunque ministerio sacerdotis.

Causa autem, quare religio ista dissolvitur, quia multiplicatis abbatibus ad vitam et legem ablatis Cristi³⁵ minus attenditur. Et cum iuxta conclusionem Augustini certissimam (in *de vera religione*, ubi narrat de passionibus quas Cristus exemplo nostri pertulit; notat enim quod

1. fb. o A; subdito B; sibiecto C. 4. δ_3 stare rgle A. 5. excom-
municacione C. 8. nimis *pro* ruinis C. 12. symealis C. 14. enim
secundum omnem C. 23. tm = tantum C. 25. regl'am C. 26. pa-
tenter B.

37. Aug. *De vera religione*, c. XVI (Migne, t. XXXIV, p. 135).

nullum peccatum committi potest, nisi dum appetuntur ea que ipse contempsit, aut fugiuntur ea que ipse sustinuit); ista igitur fides de vita Cristi et eius imitatione in moribus indubie per anticristum est extincta. 5 Cristus enim docuit suos mundum relinquere; et ideo tam vita quam verbo possessionem terrenorum deseruit. Anticristus autem econtra trahit ad infima, cum connectit se cum illis, tam mente quam corpore. Intricat autem se cum laicis, sic quod necessitati sunt per clerum 10 tam exemplo operis quam egencia corporalis sustentationis, nimis attendere ad terrena. Sic quod, ubi clerus Cristi multipliciter traxit homines ad ascensum, clerus anticristi traxit multiplicius ad descensum.

sin consists in acting against His example, but Antichrist reverses that example in every way.

2. ea *deest* AC. 7, 8. convertit B. 9. ad *pro* per B. 10. carnalis A. 13. ad descensum do pekla *in marg.* C.

CAPITULUM SEXTUM.

The Bishop's yoke is the third torment of the Church; they have enlarged on the name of the priesthood, but narrowed its spirit. Affection for temporal things augments our esteem for them, and conversely: a wrong appreciation of these is at the root of all impiety.

The clergy, chiefly the Bishops, their leaders, require to be kept in the right way by the temporal lords resuming their endowments,

| Tercius tortor est iugum episcoporum, qui omnes, sive vocentur patriarche, sive metropolitani, sive archiepiscopi, sive episcopi, querunt sua, et per consequens temporalia, non eterna. Omnes enim illi, dilatati in nomine, fuerunt per Christum astricti unitati simplici nomine sacerdotis, sive presbiteri; sic quod nomen quoad mundum dispergitur, sed affectio instar inferni coarctatur. Necesse quidem est ut illud in quo fides et affectio proprietarii spiritus preponderanter infigitur, in reputatione tanti nominis dilatatur. Ideo necesse est ut fides et affectio curtata et astricta circa temporalia propinqua sensui, magnificet illa in reputatione et affectione; quia naturaliter virtus agit forcius in obiectum, cui applicatur distinctius. Quo contra, colligata mente, fide et spe cum celestibus et eternis remotis a sensibus, necesse est ut vere magnificet et preponderet illa cum suis circumstantiis, cum in tali obiecto vero naturaliter delectatur. Et hoc ratio quare Augustinus in *de vera religione* determinat quod tota irreligiositas viantis infigitur super fantasia falaci et falsa ymaginatione temporalium, celestibus condicionis opposite pretermisiss.

Cum autem episcopi debent ducere coream huius religionis ecclesie, patet quam necessarium est ipsos, contemptis temporalibus, celestibus aspirare. Unde domini temporales tenentur errorem suum corrigere in dotando clerum in temporalibus et prius episcopos. Pro cuius supposito declarando, supponitur quod clerus ex secu-

1. Cap^m 6^m in black ink A; 6 red ink C. 2. Tortor tercius red ink in marg. C. 5. dilati C. 6. unico A. 8. curtatur A. 11. animi BC. 12. curtatur A. 21. figura pro falsa A. 22. condicione A; ib. apposite A. 24. necessarii A; est deest A. 25. conspirare B. 27. primo BC. 28. suppono C.

19. Aug. *De vera religione*, c. XXI (Migne, t. XXXIV, p. 139).

- ritate affluentie temporalium turgescit superbia, torpescit
accidia, et omnino nimis respicit temporalia cupiditate
earum percussus, et sic ad spiritualiter lucrificandum sibi
ac populo exemplando vitam Cristi propterea retardatus.
- 5 Istud est per se notum fidelibus, licet blasfemi dicant
Cristum melius egisse affluendo temporali dominio et
preficiendo suos apostolos in gloriosissimo dominio quoad
mundum. Sed solum infideles discipuli anticristi solem-
pnisant istam sententiam.
- 10 Supposito igitur hoc fundamento fidei, et supposita
veritate facti, scilicet quod post Cristi ascensionem clerici
ex ceca pietate dominorum secularium sunt dotati;
patet 3^o quod domini temporales debent errorem datum
satisfaciendo corrigere, cum ad deleccionem peccati requi-
15 ritur peccatorum satisfaccio. Persone igitur brachii
secularis, a qua ablatum est iniuste, civile dominium
debet restitui. Licet enim possibile sit omnem hominem
meritorie renunciare civili dominio, tamen iniustum est
omnino onerare clerum ipso, cum sit contra mandatum
20 domini. Multa enim possunt licite pretermitti, quibus
positis, oportet ipsa personis capacibus limitari; ut non
uxorari est licitum, et tamen, supposito matrimonio
seculari, illicitum est clericum abuti uxore; et multo
magis seculari dominio, licet possessor hoc fatue con-
25 cedat. Titulo tamen temporalis elemosine licet communi-
care clerico indigenti.
- Nec obest, sed consonat caritatis regulis invite auferre
iniuste possessa a clericis, licet furiose reclamantibus
et excommunicantibus; quia talis exheredacio secularium
30 est mala, ut docet Augustinus 179, in fine; et 23 9. 4 ca^o.
Nimum. Ex testimonio Augustini docetur practica. Si,
inquam, inimicum suum quisquam periculosus febribus
freneticum factum currere videret in preceps, non tunc
pocius malum pro malo redderet, si sic eum ire per-
35 mitteret, quam si corrigendum curandumque ligaret? et
tamen tunc ei molestissimus et adversissimus videretur,
quando ei utilissimus et misericordissimus extitisset;

which burden
them in the
discharge of
their functions.

This evident
truth could be
disputed only
by an infidel.

Admitting this,
and that the
clergy did
wrong in
accepting
temporalities,
they must be
compelled to
restitution.

This is not
unjust, being
for the good of
their souls, as
Augustine
testifies.

It is charity to
restrain an
enemy if sick
and delirious,
in spite of
protestations;
if he recovers,
he will be
grateful, and
it is a duty in
any case.

2. omnes A; omnino et C. 3. ad *deest* A. 4. hac pp^o C; *ib.* exem-
plandum C. 6. melius *deest* C; *ib.* afficiendo B. 11. sancti spiritus
pro facti scilicet AB. 14. deleccionem A. 15. peccatorem satisfac-
cere AC; *ib.* autem *pro* igitur A. 17. impossibile A. 21. capaci^a A;
capitibus B. 30. X^a sic, 9 fi. B; 179 *deest* B; *ib.* 24 B. 31. Nota in
marg. A; *ib.* Augustini *deest* B. 36. cum omnes MSS; *ib.* molestius B.
37. quando — extitisset *deest* B.

sed plane, salute reparata, tanto uberius ei gratias ageret quam minus ei pepercisse sensisset. Atque quia quibusdam ista non prosunt, numquid ideo negligenda medicina, quia non multorum est sanabilis pestilencia? Ideo, non omnis qui parcit amicus est, nec omnis qui vulnerat 5 inimicus. *Meliora enim sunt vulnere amici, quam oscula inimici.* Melius quidem est cum severitate diligere quam cum lenitate decipere. Utilius enim esurienti panis tollitur, si de cibo securus iusticiam negligat, quam esuriente panis frangitur, ut iniusticie seductus adquiescat. Putas 10 neminem debere cogi ad iusticiam, cum legas patrem familias dixisse servis: *Quoscunque inveneritis cogite intrare?* Prov. XXVII, 5
Luc. XIV, 23

Ex istis cum facto patet quam spissim lex Cristi et C. sic Cristus spernitur, et Anticristi tradicio exaltatur. Sed 15 psal. 20. scribitur: *Disrumpamus vincula eorum* Ad Ps. II, 3 tantum enim diabolus seduxit Cristi ecclesiam quod fideles timent sibi exequi legem Cristi propter fallacias anticristi: fallacias, dico, quia impossibile est arguere quod clero Cristi dominacio civilis sit debita, quin 20 argumentum deficiat in materia vel in forma; quia nunc falsum assumitur, quod mundi principes ordinarunt clerum Cristi taliter dominari, et nunc ex ordinatione elemosine perpetue informaliter concluditur quod licet clericis secularissime consumere elemosinas eis datas. 25 Primum quidem est falsum, cum mundi principes non ordinarunt, sed perturbarunt; non concesserunt 44 sed presumpserunt contra legem dei hec fieri; et ex titulo elemosine (quam oportet intelligi) manifeste infertur cum veris, quod seculares domini impedire 30 debent ne discoli suis elemosinis taliter abutantur. Licet autem eis de suis elemosinis iustificandis intromittere, quia aliter non remanerent elemosine. Sed ad elacionem persone, que foret spiritualior et magis extranea, habent interesse, ut patet ex lege papali et facto; ergo multo 35 magis ad faciendum propriam elemosinam conformiter legi dei. Non enim est anticristus cum lege sua excelencior Jesu Cristo, sed cum ipse voluit bona secularium remanere sibi elemosinas in libera potestate eorum, eciam ad subtrahendum, ut innuitur Math. 21, manifestum 40

Which last is evidently false, since they appoint to benefices; and, if interested on one point, they are so on all.

1. ulterius A. 4. non nullorum AC. 8. nempe pro enim C.
12. cogitare B. 16. et proiciamus etc. C. 20. quare C. 21. in
before forma deest BC. 24. informat C. 30. ve's A; vis B. 33. elec-
cionem BC. 34. pape pro persone C. 39. libertate A.

est quod anticristus non tolleret a secularibus illam carnalis elemosine libertatem.

Nec dubium quin sancte mulieres et viri, de quorum elemosinis sustentabatur Jesus Cristus carnaliter, magis
 5 exhinc meruerant quam si per impossibile Cristum ac suos apostolos cum eorum seculari dominio occupassent: sic, inquam, dantes clero usum temporalium, deo dante
 dominium ewangelicum, ac exonerantes eos de imperfectione terreni domini secundum legem Cristi, bene-
 10 faciunt elemosinando clerum de sorte domini. Quod si iniuriuntur illis, onerando eos dominio temporalium, subvertendo blasfeme legem dei, non dubium quin, ex iniuria facta deo et toti ecclesie, necesse est ut clerus
 sic dampnificatus retribuat secularibus sic dampnifi-
 15 cantibus malicie recompensam. Invincibilis quidem lex dei exigit quod irrationabiliter offendens in alium virtute divina ex eo dampnificabitur porporcionaliter ut nocuit suo leso. Deus enim est in qualibet creatura, retribuens
 cuilibet quod est iustum.

- D. 20 Unde hec est ratio quare *Jordanis conversus est*
 Ps. *retrosum*, cum episcopi, qui solebant chatechisare et
 CXIII, benedicere subiectos, iam infideliter subvertuntur ad
 3 seculum et voce ac opere maledicunt; qui olim solebant obsecrare iam execrant, et qui olim solebant
 25 gignere filios dei per ewangelium iam parturiunt filios diaboli per dogma contrarium. Ideo necesse est anticristum turbare populum. Ista, inquam, infidelitas, licet fides sibi contraria remaneat ceteris incognita, est causa tocius perturbacionis in seculo. Et, quomodo-
 30 cunque tortores isti sophisticent, dampnificatur populus insensibiliter in spiritualibus, et sensibiliter in temporalibus inequaliter distributis. Necesse quidem est ut episcopis occupantibus bona temporalia, que deus dat
 toti ecclesie in mensura, residuum ecclesie angariaretur
 35 penuria. Nec cessabit diabolus ad hoc inconueniens, sed faciet quod tumultuabitur plebs contra nobiles, iuvenes contra senes, et breuiter unusquisque contra reliquum, cum duces sint contrarii deo, toti ecclesie ac eciam sibi
 40 ipsis. Et sic, nisi deus in brachio seculari adiuuerit, sequetur dissipacio populi cristiani, quod demon prin-

The holy women who supplied Christ with alms did better than it they had given Him their property; so do all who act likewise.

But the harm done to the clergy by such endowments is amply punished by the harm done to those who made them, according to God's unchangeable law.

This is why we now see bishops giving curses for blessings, and begetting sons of the devil.

This is also the reason of the present troubles.

Worldly possessions are limited; if the clergy have too much, the other classes have too little,

and the devil will therefore cause a general revolt, everybody against everybody; and without God's help, all will be destroyed.

5. *mēorāt* = memorant A. 20. Hic nota *red ink in marg.* A;
ib. quare *deest* A; *ib.* Yordanis C. 21. cathesifare C. 31. in — sensi-
 biliter *deest* A. 33. bona *deest* C; *ib.* temporaliter A.

cialiter intendit. Ideo claret ex fide quodulare brachium, cum accusatur a deo in isto crimine, debet sub pena dampnationis, corrigendo errata, satisfacere.

The objections against this doctrine spring from false piety, wishing to honour religion; but Christ on earth rejected all such honour.

Nec decipiat ceca pietas qua diabolus suggerit quod ista mundana gloria Cristo tribuitur; quia, quando *cum hominibus conversatus est*, talem gloriam in se et suis discipulis non expectiit, sed aufugit. Non enim potuit armoniam proporcionis mundanorum dissolvere, quam trinitas posuit in sua domo quoad distribucionem temporalium remanere; sed ita moderate vixit de ele-
mosinis secularium, quod conversacio sua, lex sua et educacio suorum discipulorum debuit esse cunctis fidelibus, et specialiter clericis, de sorte sua speculum et exemplum. Ideo dico cum apostolo seculari brachio corporis Cristi,

Bar.
III.

Some Friars, disciples of Antichrist, excuse these things; their splendid churches, because Solomon built the Temple, and the new law giving greater grace, its churches should be more splendid;

illud Eph. 5. *Nemo vos seducat inanibus verbis*. Multiplicati sunt autem quidam fratres discipuli anticristi qui palliant sumptuosas basilicas ac alta edificia atque splendencia, tam in fratribus quam monachis; palliant eorum larga et lauta cibaria. Et primum, per locum *a maiori*, cum Salomon construxit templum, ac alia edificia cum suis apparatibus sumptuosos. Ergo, inquit, per locum *a maiori* in lege maioris gracie, dum ecclesia est propinquior glorie beatitudinis, maiori gloria debet splendescere. Sed isti *insensati gallathe* volunt monstruose onerare Cristi ecclesiam cum cerimoniais legis antique, dimissis Cristi consiliis; et sic, tamquam alter Sergius, seductor Machometi, volunt eligere carni placencia de lege utraque et displicencia transaltare. Sed infidelis, sic *duplex animo* secundum interiorem hominem cecatus, *inconstans est in omnibus viis suis*. Ignorat enim in-
fidelitate cecatus vim totam arguendi per locum *a maiori*; cum sequitur per locum *a maiori*, ut Cristus docuit, quod dimissa ista solempnitate sensibili, pascente ad famem sensus extrinseci, intendat fidelis secundum interiorem hominem ornari et pasci virtutibus; cum constat ex fide quod quilibet virtus moralis sit infinitum melior quam omnes divicie vel omnia inanimati corporis ornameta. Ideo, cum via virtutum sit ad regnum pro-

E.
Gal.
III, 1

but these foolish Galatians forget that the argument *a maiori* should rather make us follow Christ's example of contempt for external things.

but these foolish Galatians forget that the argument *a maiori* should rather make us follow Christ's example of contempt for external things.

4. suggerit deest A. 5. tota ista C. 16. autem deest C. 24. insensato C. 31. a maiori per locum A. 34. sanlem A; ib. extrinsecos omnes MSS. 37. in anima A. 38. regimen B.

27. Sergius and Mahomet are often alluded to in Wyclif's writings. See *De Apostasia*, p. 67, l. 23.

pinquior, ac vita expropriaria cum exclusione artificiorum sit innocencie statui similior, nec non et Cristus dei virtus sit in vita, verbo et opere huiusmodi sensui inclinacior: abiciamus ritus carnales legis veteris, et induamur virtutes illis operibus solempnibus factas.

So let us lay the old Law aside, as St. Jerome says.

Et ista est responsio Jeronimi, ut patet 12 cf. 2^a cap. *Gloria episcopali*, ad istam arguciam anticristi. Oportet enim iuxta istam stulticiam onerare episcopos nostros cum 66 reginis et 100 concubinis et adolescentularum innumerabili comitiva: et sic blasfeme stultificare sapienciam incarnatam. Teneamus igitur fidem, et non scandalisemus nostros prelatos ex hoc quod non secuntur in isto ritus culpabiles Salomonis.

The argument if urged, would give each bishop a number of wives and concubines.

Quantum ad secundum, patet quod est *excusacio* anticristi in peccatis; non enim fit aliquid tam male ab aliquo homine quin cedat ad commodum, quia, ad rom. 8 dicit Cristus in suo apostolo, *Timentibus deum omnia cooperantur in bonum*. Ideo, si licet monachis habere tam ampla fercula, quia tot bona contingit ex illis fieri, nichil omnino foret illicitum, cum occasione cuiusque peccati luciferi eveniunt ecclesie maiora bona quam talis corporalis elemosina, si contingat. Oportet igitur attendere ad modum facti, ad auctorisationem domini, et ad occasionem mali datam, quod inde evenit; et tunc

Those who excuse the sumptuous fare of the monks because they do good, should remember that this would excuse any excess just as well. Good has accompanied even the sin of Lucifer. All this is mere gluttony.

invenietur quod excessus modi a gula exigitur, auctorisacio facti a spiritu gule conficitur. Et fructus proveniens est pauperum spoliacio, fundatorum quoad elemosinas suas fraudacio, vescencium ingurgitacio et residuum furancium multiformis dissipacio. Et certum est quod talia cum ruptura religionis sunt fructus peccati.

And it results in spoliation, fraud, greediness, and robbery.

Unde tales excusatores excedunt Scarioth in peccato. De ipso enim legitur, Mt. 14. quomodo Scarioth et alii indignabantur Magdalene, frementes in ipsam propter hoc quod effudit super Cristum moriturum in proximo *alabastrum unguenti nardi spicati preciosi*; poterat, inquit,

Men who excuse such things are worse than Iscariot, indignant against Magdalen: they do not

1, 2. artificum omnes MSS. 5. corporalibus A; ib. solemnitatibus B; corporalibus solempnibus C. 9. centum pro 66 B; ib. concubinarum B;

26. et de A. 10. coitua = coitiva A. 12. sequi C. 15. ad pro aliquid A. 16. homine deest C. 18. gopan² C. 20. accione A. 24. ad deest C. 27. est deest C. 30. cum deest B. 33. magnitudine A.

6. Decr. Grat. 2^a Pars, C^a XII, qu. 2, c. 71. 14. The excuse itself is not given, but it must have been similar to that of a French monk who, rebuked for his high living, answered: *Je soutiens le religieux pour soutenir la religion.*

even think how
many could be
fed for the cost
of one such
feast.

*unguentum istud venundari plus quam trecentis denariis
et dari pauperibus.* Isti autem non indignabantur pro
quanto excessus sui cibarii superfluous posset vendi et
dari pauperibus cibis grossior, utilius et levius preparatus.
Sed querentes ex cibo superfluo mundanam gloriam post 5
voluptuosam nauseam, non tam expresse paliant pro
egenis; utrique tamen in isto conveniunt quod preciosum
oleum caritatis, quod prope mortem debet effundi super
caput ecclesie (hoc est sacerdotes) subtrahitur, et refri-
gescente caritate multorum in os et carnes melancolicas 10
commutatur.

They cry out:
Heresy! when
that poverty, to
which they
pretend
themselves, is
pointed out as
a duty to the
clergy; they
say that the
same man can
be a member
of Christ and
of the devil;
and thus, Christ
being his
members,
Christ is the
devil.

Et pseudofrater apostatantes cum Scarioth palliant
partem anticristi, precipue ut hic: dicunt heresim fidelibus
qui dicunt totum clerum debere vivere expropriarie
sicut Cristus instituit, et ut fratres fingunt quod in hoc 15
clericos possessionatos exsuperant, et tamen ex duplicitate
vulpina dicunt quod quicumque predia cleri abstulerit,
maledicitur eo facto. Hic autem sic miscent membra
Cristi et principis huius mundi, quod dicunt eandem
personam simul et semel esse membrum Cristi atque 20
diaboli, ut secundum hanc duplicem sortem posset parti-
cipare duplici participio horum patrum. Apostolus
autem abhorret quod quis fiat *membrum Cristi* et
meretricis, et multo magis Cristi et diaboli. *Que rogo* 25
communicacio Cristi ad Belial, ut participet sic in
membris, ut desponsent eandem feminam, et ut Cristus
sit ipsemet diabolus? Cristus enim est quodammodo
quodlibet membrum suum, et sic de diabolo et membris
eius, ut patet de Scarioth: et sic inferitur quod Cristus
sit ipse diabolus. Sed quid magis abhorreret pietas 30
cristiana?

It is impossible
for a
'foreknown' to
be a member
of Christ, or
for an elect
not to be so;
though the one
may be now in
a state of grace,
and the other
in mortal sin.

Et quantum ad argucias quibus cece concluditur ista
vesania, patet fidelibus quomodo impossibile est de
membro diaboli fieri membrum Cristi, sicut non
potest de predestinato prescitus fieri, nec econtra; sed 35
licet predestinatus non potest esse prescitus et econtra,
sicut prescitus potest esse in gracia secundum presentem

6. palliant C. 10. multos AC. 19. h⁹^{al} = huiusmodi A. 21. et C.
21, 22. partipare C. 23. abhorruit B. 25. convencio A. 29. suis C.
34. sed pro sicut A. 36. non deest omnes MSS. 36, 37. et — esse
deest A.

28. *Quodlibet membrum suum.* Figuratively, but really on
account of that very figure, according to Wyclif's doctrine of
the reality of Universals.

iusticiam, et stat predestinatum esse in mortale secundum presentem iusticiam, impossibile est tamen primum talem esse membrum Cristi, sicut impossibile est secundum talem esse membrum diaboli, quia impossibile
 5 est primum talem mereri merito finalis perseverantie; sicut impossibile est secundum talem peccare peccato finalis impenitencie. Tales igitur ignari apostate infrigidant caritatem corporis Cristi secundum prophetiam
 7 suam Matth. 24: *Refrigescet caritas multorum*. Testatur enim naturalis experientia, quod positis duobus vasis in aura | gelida, uno pleno aqua frigida et alio pleno aqua quantumcunque calida, illa aqua cicius congelatur. Cuius causa est, quia exalaciones gelide intrans spissim
 10 per poros fumositatum evaporantium, et spissim congelant ad intra: quod deest aque que non sic bullitur. Sic mystice prescitus religiosus vane ardet caritate ad tempus in populo, sed cupiditate temporalium gelidorum per yppocrisim facit conceptus et affectus gelidos subintrare in populo: et ita cicius caritas talis populi
 20 congelatur, quam amor populi pure gentilis quem deus preservat pure lumine naturali. Et ista videtur sententia Cristi, Matth. 13. ubi ait: *Cum immundus spiritus exierit ab homine etc.* Sicut, inquam, sacerdotes, scribe et pharisei erant tempore viacionis Cristi pessimi, sic
 25 videtur hodie quod generacio cleri, sparsa terrenis affectibus, expirata puritate religionis Cristi, sit pessima simpliciter; quia septem apostaticis simulacionibus dant introitum anticristo, qui sic congelat et immobilizat multum populum; quod in eis gravatur affectus ut non
 30 currat sermo dei in eis et distillent opera caritatis.

Concedat igitur deus, quod totus populus sit unius religionis, exclusis istis exalacionibus gelidis, ut vir unus;
 11 sic quod de illis verificetur istud psalmo 132. *Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum*.
 35 *Sicut unguentum in capite, quod descendit in barbam, barbam Aaron*. Aaron, inquam, figurat summum episcopum, qui supra mensuram habet unguentum gracie

These apostates resemble water that having been hot, freezes more quickly than cold water, the cold entering through its dilated pores; so they, having been fervent for a time, make the charity of the people to freeze.

They are like him into whom seven devils entered for one cast out; or like the priests in the time of Christ.

God grant that the whole people, saved from these bad influences, be united in charity, which like the ointment on Aaron's head, descends from Christ to the

3. ecclesie Cristi C. 5. est deest A. 7. ignari deest A. 8. per pro secundum B. 12. quatulz C. 15. bullitur (sic) C. 16. ard-ret C. 22. parabat A; perambulabat struck out B; parabolat pro ait C. 27. septemplexiter apostatis dant simulacionibus B; septem apostasis dant simulatoribus C. 20. in deest A; ib. affectio BC. 30. c^{ur} at (= currat) A; curat A; ib. et distillent in eis B. 31. populus deest AC. 32. elacionibus B. 33. illud C. 34. etc. pro et - unum A. 35. Nota in marg. A; ib. barba B; beati pro barbam A.

clergy, thence
to the nobility,
and thence to
the common
people.

And as for
those who
hinder this
union, let them
be stoned
without the
camp, i. e. lose
their temporal
possessions.
If the spiritual
salt lose its
taste, form and
preserving
power, it should
be cast out, as
the blasphemer
of old.

These excuses
being worthless,
men should not
allow a friar to
tempt them to
give him aid,
when the friar
is more able to
do the like for
them.

et caritatis; *De cuius plenitudine nos omnes accepimus*,
ut dicitur Joh. 1°. Ab isto, inquam, capite huius abbatis Jo. 1,1
descendit gracia in clerum Cristi, ut apostolos et eorum
discipulos, cum sit barba Aaron superior. Et iterum
descendit hoc oleum ad barbam inferiorem, quia ad 5
dominos seculares. Sed 3° descendit ad 3^{am} partem
ecclesie, scilicet populares, eciam ad abiectissimum
genus vulgarium, cum subditur, quod *descendit in oram
vestimenti eius*. Isti autem qui debent esse de barba
superiori, impediunt predictum oleum distillare, dum 10
propter longitudinem pilorum, inpedientes cibacionem
ecclesie, depauperando calorem interioris hominis, non
sufficiunt dissolvere oleum congelatum. Ideo non restat H.
nisi educere blasphemum extra castra et omnino facere
ut ippocrita lapidetur a toto populo; non materiali 15
lapide, sed sententia verbi dei et subtraccione bonorum
fortune, in quibus tantum blasfemiatur; quia, iuxta Cristi
testimonium Mt. 5. *Si sal evanuerit, ad nichilum valet* M
ultra, nisi ut mittatur foras et conculcetur ab hominibus. V
Sal indubie debent esse apostoli et cuncti presbiteri, 20
quia calorem caritatis conceptum pro tempore sue
spiritualis generacionis debent constanter in forma
primeva servare, ut lapides virtutem; eciam cibos anime
condiendi superflua ac putrida prescindendi, et per
consequens vermes et impressiones extraneas excludendi. 25
Quod si dissoluti fuerint a forma lapidis et virtute sic
condiendi et aruerint, quid valent nisi ut obiective
paciantur tamquam blasfemi, quos populus lapidat extra
castra?

Et nota quoscunque huius secte; et vel ignorant 30
(cecati a deo eorum) in cuius nomine blasfemant, vel
stulte blaterant ad sui dispendium. Si enim excusacio
fratrum in casu isto sit invalida, manifeste sequitur
quod nulli cristiani debent opitulari fratribus ad con-
struendum talia edificia vel ducendum talem vitam tam 35
difformem a Cristo. Sic quod quilibet temptatus a
fratre ad perpetrandum hoc facinus, potest pertinenter
dicere temptatori illud Math. 16., ubi scriptum est de M
Cristo: *vade post me sathana; non sapis ea que dei sunt*. X
Est enim talis apostata plus Cristo adversarius in vita 40

3-5. gracia — hoc oleum *deest* A. 6. duos C. 8. horam B.
18. nichil C. 22. generacionis spiritualis C. 26. lapides AC. 27. et
struck out B; *ib.* aruerunt C; *ib.* valet A; *ib.* abiective A. 31. interius
pro in cuius B. 32. blactrant A; blaterant C. 33. valida A.
35. beneficia B. 40. adversans BC; *ib.* in vita *in marg.* A.

et legibus, quam tunc ex pietate ceca fuerat Petrus. Sunt eciam, sicut omnes peccatores, contrarii sibi ipsis; quia extorquent ippocrite temporalia a secularibus, de ipsis edoctis quod consonancius foret fratres retribuere
 5 eis temporalia, quam e contra. Ipsi enim plus egent in seculo, quam fratres in claustris. Fratres debent amplius habundare caritate; et undequaque est consonancius quod fratres egeant et quod in secularibus quorum officium est circa hec bona fortune in ipsis exuberent. Ideo contra caritatem foret perfectionem fratrum
 10 extinguere et se ipsos de sibi debito spoliare.

Si vero ultima necessitas simuletur, erit duplex remedium. Primo, vendendo bona residencia que ad hoc, secundum Ambrosium, ut recitatur 12 q. 2^a ca^o *Aurum*
 15 *habet ecclesia*, remanent in thesauro. Secundum remedium est quod dissolvatur et subtilietur religio expropriaria; et sic vivant de laboricio, instar apostoli vel aliunde, ut persone ordinis nostri; tunc enim perficerentur, ut
 I. patet ex dictis; et forent minus onerosi ecclesie. Unde
 20 videntur peccare graviter qui fovant eos in discolia huiusmodi et retardant ab ordine quem Christus instituit et profectu ecclesie; sic quod improvida distributio bonorum fortune ex ceco titulo elemosine facit nimis magnam perturbationem ecclesie: ut patet tam in
 25 possessionis quam in mendicantibus. Ideo ista materia debet laciis explanari. |

30 Sed inventa est quedam ars nova diaboli quod, displicente tractatu cuiuscunque materie fidei, et deficientibus argumentis, procuretur excommunicacio ferenda in omnes illam materiam pertractantes. Et ut factum sit coloracius, adducuntur 6 vel 7^{tem} veritatis emuli in conclavi, et ipsi hereticant veritatem que eis displicet; et in testimonium sigilla sua aponunt: ut VII doctores dicuntur Oxonie non introisse *pretorium ut*
 35 *non contaminarentur, sed ut dampnarent corpus Christi non esse substantialiter in sacramento pascali*. Unde certum est quod corpus Christi accidentaliter est in illo,

If they should feign to be in absolute want, their goods should be sold, as they belong to the treasure of the Church; and, the Orders being abolished, they should be made to work.

Some, when they have no arguments against a doctrine, proceed to condemn it, like the 7 doctors at Oxford, who have denied that Christ is substantially in the Sacrament, not knowing what the Sacrament is.

6. dicunt A. 8. quam *pro* quod *before* fratres A. 9. tota B;
 10. in ipsis *deest* A. 9. 10. exhiberent BC. 12. *e* *pro* erit C.
 13. primum C; *ib.* vedendo A. 15. thauro AC. 20. graviter *deest* AC.
 22. p^{re}sent A; profectum B. 34. oxoniis C. 34, 35. non ut non BC.
 35. dampnent C.

14. Decr. Grat. 2^a Pars, C^a XII, q. 2, c. 70.

What it is, is
an article of
faith about
which many
heresies
abound; *how* it
is, is not.

They do not
know or they
dare not speak
of the one; they
cry aloud about
the other with
lies.

But when asked
what those
appearances
are, which are
adored, they
are mute.

Yet it is clearly
stated that the
bread is Christ's
body, in several
of the Gospels
and Epistles.

et ipsum non esse substantialiter ibidem, nisi forte, ut
quidam doctores locuntur equivocando in adverbio,
vocando *substantialiter* "modo substancie". Sed, ut distin-
gwitur contra *accidentaliter*, certum est quod corpus
Cristi non est substantialiter in illo, quia non secundum 5
se, ut dicit Jeron. Ideo longe melius esset hiis satrapis
adiscere quid est hoc sacramentum, antequam tracterent
quomodo corpus Christi est in illo. Circa primum enim
pululant hereses; et, secundum, quoad fidem explicatum,
est inpertinens fidei cristiane. Unde licet in primo 10
(quod est fidei) pululent tot hereses, tamen dicti satrape
in illo mutescant vecorditer, nec iuxtaponunt fidem
suam cum fide ipsius contraria; vel ideo indubie quia
nesciunt vel non audent. Peripsimata autem fidei ex-
posite non audent arguendo sed excommunicando corro- 15
dere; et tamen, cum tota ista vecordi ignorancia
cervicem erigunt cum clamore, cum mendaciis, et aliis
diverticulis anticristi, ac si defenderent sanam partem.
Sed quando queritur utrum ille panis consecratus sit
corpus Cristi necne, cum multi fideles adorant ipsum 20
ut corpus Cristi, et illa fides ex testimonio scripture
et expositione sanctorum dispergitur: ibidem stabat
Johanes, et verecunde obmutuit. Augustinus autem
super Joh. omel. 26 vere dicit quod illud sacramentum
est cibus corporalis, eciam quod Cristus dixit panem 25
esse corpus suum. Nam Joh. 6 dicit ipse qui mentiri K.
non potest: *Panis quem ego dabo caro mea est pro* Jo.
mundi vita. Panem, inquam, fregit et dedit discipulis VI, 52
suis, quem asseruit esse corpus suum, ut patet in
ewangelio Math. 26 et Marc. 14, Luce 22 et Paulus 1^{us} 30
cor. 10. Et tamen falsarii scripture sacre istam fidem

2. equivoce B. 7. addiscere C; *ib.* sit C. 8. quidem B. 9. pullu-
lent C; *ib.* explicata B; explicitam C. 13. ipius C. 14. peripsima B;
pipfima A C. 14, 15. exponite A. 16. ignoran C. 18. sham pro
sanam A. 20. aut ne A. 23. obnuit B; *ib.* Augustinus in marg. B.
25. et pro eciam C. 26. esse deest A. 29. esse deest A. 30. Pauli C.
31. Et c' A; Et deest B; *ib.* cum pro tamen A; *ib.* et tamen falsam C;
ib. falsarii — fidem deest B.

3. This is an allusion to St. Thomas, who employs that very
expression in his *Summa Theologica*. Other doctors may also
have used the same term. 23. The same expression occurs
in *De Apostasia*, p. 58, l. 4; also in a Lollard poem, printed in
Monumenta Franciscana, Ed. Brewer, p. 598. It would even
seem to be a quotation from the poem, alluding to the discom-
fiture of a certain *Johannes Wellis*: *Wellis replicabat; — Sed*
postquam Nicol solverat, tunc Johannes stabat.

- ecclesie parvipendunt. Talibus ergo conventiculis, qui
 conspirant tam multipliciter contra legem domini non
 debet quis fuco elemosine aliquid erogare; licet tamen
 relevare personas egencium in casu quo signa fidelitatis
 in ipsis appareant; quia, secundum fidem: Si eciam
 esurierit inimicus tuus, concurrentibus rationis paribus,
 ciba illum. Scola autem Cristi est consentanea; sed
 scola sathane est semper contraria sibi ipsi, quia
 finis prime est unitas et fructus secunde discordia.
- Nostra autem religio appetit quoscunque esse de nostro
 ordine et, exclusa quacunque novitate extranea, tenere
 libere vitam Cristi. Religiones autem invente sunt sibi
 ipsis contrarie; et una fovet partem alterius, que est sibi
 opposita. Ideo oportet quod vir sic *duplex animo* sit *incon-*
 stans in omnibus viis suis; licet enim fratres unius ordinis
 odiunt fratres et religionem alterius, eciam possessionati
 detestantur mendicacionem fratrum, et ipsi e contra
 eorum dotacionem ac diviciarum accumulacionem
 perpetuam; tamen tangente homine communiter eorum
 versucias, *facti sunt amici herodes et pilatus*, contra
 veritatis dominium, eciam contra proprios ordines
 conspirantes; ut fratres confitentur tacite quod ad
 continuandum perfeccionem paupertatis Cristi, ad decorem
 ecclesie sunt ipsi a domino introducti. Et tamen contra
 tangentes errorem eorum blaterant quod est ad
 magnam perfeccionem cleri talis dotacio, cum sit tam
 necessaria sicut fuit potestas faciendi miracula in
 ecclesia primitiva. Et isti parti consenciant in facto tam
 fratres simplices exempti habundantes in proprio, quam
 integra communitas eorum, que habet inproprie nequius
 quam una persona simplex; et sunt tacite contradictorii
 sibi ipsis. Et per consequens *non est conveniens eorum*
testimonium adjuvandum sese reciproce, cum sint tantum
 contrarii sibi ipsis.
- 35 Et in illo patet prima subversio ecclesie, in quibus
 prima pateret conversacio: quod videtur figurari per
 interpretacionem quam attribuit Jeron. phariseis. "Phari-
 seus", inquit, "interpretatur divisus, vel dividens, seu

As for these
 schools of
 conspirators
 against Christ's
 law, they should
 be punished by
 all alms being
 cut off.

Our religion is
 the imitation of
 Christ's life:
 theirs is full of
 novelties and
 rivalries; friars
 hate friars;
 monks hate
 mendicants and
vice versa: yet
 they all join
 against us when
 we wish to
 bring back the
 beauty of early
 Christianity.

But this very
 union is a fresh
 contradiction,
 and thus their
 testimony is of
 no value.

And in them
 we may thus
 see the decay
 of the Church:
 Pharisee means
 the separated,
 dividing,

1. igitur C. 9. primi C; *ib.* 2^a = secundi A. 16. fratres *deest* A;
 religionem B; et *deest omnes MSS.* 18. eorum *deest* C. 25. blaerant A;
 blatarant C. 26. clericis A; talis *deest* A. 30. habent B; h3 C.
 35. illis A. 36. primo C.

20. Same poem, three verses before: *Hic amici facti sunt
 Herodes et Pilatus.*

*violent, or
dissipating
ones.*
The first monks
were separated
from the people
by their
holiness.

Afterwards,
they divided
that same
people.

The first were
violent against
the flesh, and
won Heaven.

Now they
dissipate the
goods of the
poor and cast
away Christ's
law.

But offending
against Christ,
they strike the
rock upon
which they
shall be broken.

As for the
Bishops, they
should be the
overseers of the
people, keeping
them in proper
purity, poverty
and obedience;
and set the
example:

i. e. of spiritual
chastity through
love of Christ
above all;

violentus aut dissipans". Primo, inquam, fuerunt religiosi nostri pharisei, i. e. divisi a populo secundum excellenciam differencie sanctitatis vite. Sed posterius perverso ordine in declinacione ad seculum facti sunt dividentes populum Cristi ad deum huius seculi; quia Prov. 6 pro-

phetatur de istis apostatis quod *omni tempore iurgia seminant*. Iterum primo violentando corpus suum pena voluntaria, rapuerunt regnum celorum cum baptista, secundum fidem ewangelii Matth. 11. *A tempore Johannis regnum celorum | vim patitur et violenti rapiunt illud*. 10 Modo autem decernendo effigies, nulli pascuntur delicacius; nec gravantur ineptius, ut per alleviacionem corporis sapiant regnum dei; sed perversi ad carnem et seculum dissipant legem Cristi; sic quod de cassacione consumpcionis bonorum pauperum et de spoliacione 15 ipsorum ab eis dicere potest devotus ecclesie illud psal. 118. *Tempus faciendi, domine; dissipaverunt legem tuam*. Ad tantum quidem blasfemarunt in Cristum, quod iam est tempus impediendi eos ulterius insanire. Dicunt enim dicti pharisei quod secuntur Cristum in vita 20 similime: et cum ventris ingluvies, terrena cupiditas, et fastus mundane glorie contradicunt, patet quante in facto scandalisant Cristum humanitus et blasfemant ipsum divinitus. Nec dubium quin oportet eos offendentes in hunc lapidem immobilem precipitanter offe- 25 dere; et illa contrapaccio est pessima scandalisacio. Ideo dicit Cristus Mat. 11. *Beatus qui non fuerit scandalisatus in me*. Nam omnis nominetenus cristianus qui adversatur vie domini scandalisatur in Cristum; et beatus (sed rarus est ille) qui in isto amodo non blasfemat. 30

Episcopi autem debent esse superintendentes populo; ut, servata religione cristiana, teneant se in limitibus 35 legis religionis, scilicet castitatis, paupertatis et obediencie, que secundum dicta primo capitulo debent consequi quemlibet cristianum; nec circa aliud debet 35 versari episcopale officium. Sicut igitur *cepit facere et docere*, ita debent episcopi in se servare hec tria precipue et facere ut in subditis observentur. Castitas autem spiritualis est maxime ponderanda, cum contrariatur Act. I, 1

6. in omni A. 9. inquam pro secundum C. 12. alienacionem B;
alleviacion C. 13. corpus A. 21. sile A. 26. passiva BC.
28. tene A; ib. cristianus deest B. 31. dicunt A. 33. lige AC.
34. per B. 36. Sic pro sicut BC; ib. ergo B. 38. et deest AC.
39. cui C.

- spiritualis fornicacio, que fit quandocunque super amorem Christi inducitur amor temporalium vel hostis ^{3^{cis}} plus amati. Et illam castitatem tenetur omnis catholicus observare. Quantum ad paupertatem, patet ^{of poverty, we all being} ⁵ eciam quod omnis homo debet esse mendicus dei, petendo panem cottidianum cottidie: et sic debet ^{beggars of daily bread from God, and temporal lords only bailiffs;} recogitare se esse servum ballivum, dispensatorem domus dei, et accommodarium eius, eciam imperator et quantumcunque magnus dominus temporalis. Istam ¹⁰ autem fidem de paupertate cum suis appendiciis debet ^{M.} cristianus tenere et docere, sed presul potissime. Quo ^{and of obedience to Christ, and to others in so far as that is an aid to the former.} ad obedienciam, patet quod omnis cristianus tenetur obedire domino Jesu Cristo, cum sit caput ¹⁵ totius ecclesie. Obediencia vero sibi debita stat in imple- ¹ cione illius quod ipse mandat et consulit. Illa autem est summa obediencia, sine qua quecunque humana foret superflua, cum iuxta dicta primo capitulo sit precise de tanto laudabilis de quanto promovet ad obedienciam Jesu nostri. Cum igitur totum episcopale ²⁰ officium stat in observancia et doctrina huius religionis triplicis, nec docetur efficaciter nisi primitus observetur; patet quam necessarium est episcopum disponi ad observanciam huius legis. Ad quod requiritur quod instar Cristi et apostolorum sit quocunque sibi subdito ²⁵ superior. Nam aliter foret ineptus ad docendum suos subditos hanc doctrinam.
- Unde videtur quod domini seculares sic dotantes suos presbyteros stulte dampnificant se et ipsos. Indisponunt enim ipsos ad observandum istam religionem ³⁰ triplicem et populum efficaciter docendum; et sic dampnificant multipliciter semetipsos. Primo in hoc quod exhereditant se a seculari dominio quod presul suus iniuste occupat. Secundo in hoc quod ex cecitate perturbant rem publicam. Deus enim aptavit medie ³⁵ parti ecclesie certam mensuram et numerum; et eis appropriavit certam mensuram secularis domini. Ideo, cum disrumpunt hunc ordinem, necesse est quod seculares circumpalpitent, perturbando ecclesiam. Et ⁴⁰ tercio in hoc potissime, quod tantum blasfeme cecatur populus, quod credit in pugnando ordinacionem divinam

Hence rulers should not endow, for they render priests unable to teach by example.

They unjustly detain what is not theirs.

They trouble the State, usurping the functions of seculars.

And they blind the people, so that, fighting against God, they think to do good.

6. quotidianum omni die C. 8. accomodacionem A. 9. magnus deest C. 14. complecione C. 19. obediendum A; *ib.* Cristi pro nostri B; *ib.* ihu cristi domini nostri C. 21. ut pro nec C. 27. docentes B. 30. edocendum C. 31. Et prius B.

Yet the
steward that
resists his
lord's will
displeases him:
and they are
no more.

sibi meritorie obedire. Sed ballivus cum bonis domini
et contra preceptum suum onerando et ligando, in-
disponens servum alium ad perficiendum domini officium,
per quod reciproce iuaretur, displicet domino et se
ipsum dampnificat ac conservos. Et hec creditur ratio 5
quare clerus, sic repugnando secularibus (iusto dei
iudicio), ipsos spiritualiter nocendo impedit et e contra.
Et ista est generalis perturbacio in illis que debent
esse duo brachia matris ecclesie iuvancia se et matrem;
ad tantum enim cecavit diabolus obturatione temporalium 10
anticristi discipulos, quod defendunt blasfeme nec licere
seculari brachio errorem suum in isto corrigere, nec
dextrum brachium, quantumcunque infirmum fuerit,
adiuvare. Sed tunc indubie utrumque brachium, et per
consequens totum corpus illius ecclesie malignantium 15
est irremissibiliter condempnatum.

2. onerans BC. 4. iuarentur B. 14. brachium deest C.

CAPITULUM SEPTIMUM.

A. Sequitur 4^{tus} tortor, scilicet Archidiaconus, cuius nomen contigit esse patri suo episcopo Scarioth correspondens. Cum ergo ille, ex fide scripture, Joh. 12. sit mere diabolus, | patet quod inter omnes ministros talis episcopi talis eius minister sit archidiabolus. In cuius signum, dimisso ministrandi officio, circa bona minima ipse et episcopus contendunt communiter.

Arch-deacons are arch-devils, their father being bishop Judas, a devil.

10 Debet enim archidiaconus, instar Stephani, Laurencii, et diaconorum similium, ministrare in missa suo episcopo, predicare in populo legem Cristi, et omnino supplere vicem prelati sui, ut simplex religio cristiana in subditis conservetur. Et idem est iudicium de omnibus subordinatis membris cleri Cristi. Sed in 15 officio dicuntur perversi et consequenter membra hominis peccati; utputa, dimissis istis officiis, contendunt pro mamona ubi debent inserere verbum dei; in comparando sibi ipsis ornamenta secularia, ubi debent sollicitari circa cultum religiosum sui episcopi.

The Arch-deacon's duty is to serve his Bishop's Mass, preach, and see to Divine service; but many care only for money and ornaments.

20 Et multe sunt leges humane rationabiles, licet abrogentur hodie vel glosentur, que docent quod archidiaconus non debet esse onerosus ecclesie in personis, in pedagiis, nec in equis; ut VII^{em} equos non debet excedere, nec sine regis licencia subditos spoliare, ut patet 3^o decretalium de censibus ca^o Cum apostolus Et cap.^o Inno- 25 vamus. Sed cautela diaboli ex negligencia principum contigit oppositum. Ideo non mirum, si hoc vergit ad dissencionem atque destruccionem regnorum: fidelis enim expectat consumacionem istorum, cum iniurie particulares

There are laws forbidding him to have a numerous retinue, more than seven horses, or to extort money without the king's leave.

But they are obsolete, and the abuses become gradually greater and greater.

1. Cap. etc. deest. 2. Initial S in red ink A. 5. tl's (sic).
6. archidiaconus AB. 7. mⁱ A. 17. parando B; operando C.
27. 9^a A; contingit BC.

25. The decree *Cum Apostolus* is not to be found. *Innovamus* is in Decr. Grat. 1^a Pars, Dist. LX, c. 3.

guttatim fuerint congregare. Sicut enim aque rivales congregantur in fossa ad tantum quod demum fossa disrumpitur; sic est de particularibus peccatis regnorum ab episcopis incorrectis.

One point is the insufficiency of the fines, as a punishment of sin; the Church grows fat, but the evils are greater.

When the old severe laws were in force, sins were checked; now that it is allowed to offend God for money, they increase.

All seculars who do not oppose these abuses are responsible for them; and they may be likened to traitors;

for to permit such treason against God is to be a traitor to Him.

Instead of enquiring about profit, and particulars of worldly wealth,

Peccatum autem non corrigitur, sed gravatur, dum⁵ tortor, prelatus aliis, spoliat sceleratissime sibi subiectos et animat eos ex parvipensione minuti amerciamenti ad frequencius deliquendum. Sic enim dicit diabolus in suis proverbiiis quod levis spoliatio pingues facit raptores. Dimissa ergo est lex antiqua de suspensione, de deposicione¹⁰ et de temporalium comunicacione cum sacerdote fornicario vel aliter criminoso; et tunc emendabantur crimina sacerdotum et populi. Sed modo, dum per anticristos inducitur quod dei iniuria symoniace et proditorie sit venalis, peccatum non corrigitur, sed late extenditur et gravatur.¹⁵

Extenditur, inquam, usque ad regem et totum populum, ad minimum ex consensu. Si, inquam, abhomin-^{B.} abilis proditor regis terreni contra regiam regis et eius liberos conspiranciiis foveretur et defenderetur in regno, nonne vere diceretur quod fovens atque con-²⁰ sciens sit regis proditor, non solum extra regis protectionem ponendus, sed trahendus atrociter et finaliter occidendus? Multo magis anticristi, servi diaboli et regis Cristi comixti, gignentes et defendentes Cristi adversarios contra ipsum. Cum enim regalia deo propria²⁵ sit incorrigibiliter vindicare iniurias, patet quod nitens tollere vel obfuscare istam vindictam procurat pro diabolo proditorie contra Cristum. Seculares itaque, qui tales permittunt vel quomodocunque consenciant sunt in dampnacione consimili, et causa prodicionis regni;³⁰ quia necesse est ut regnum, sic comixtim divisum anticristi tyronibus et Cristi discipulis, desoletur. Debent enim prelati in suis visitacionibus prudenter predicare Cristum, non segniter scrutari questum; mederi morbos

1. congregare A. 2, 3. de fosso disrumpuntur A. 7. amat A; *ib.* inimici AB. 8. d¹ A; docet B. 10. igitur C. 12. notorie criminoso C. 18. regulam C. 19. labores A. 20. nomine A. 23. et in *omnes* MSS. 30. perdicionis B. 31. commixtim C; *ib.* divisim B. 34. fructificari A.

10. Slight fines for offences committed brought, it would seem, more money, on the same principle on which the Penny Post brings an increase of revenue in the present day. 12. It is well to notice here that Wyclif was, according to Lingard, a priest of absolutely irreproachable life himself. No wonder therefore that he is indignant against the lenity with which 'sacerdotes fornicarii' were treated.

anime, non primo notare defectus ornamentorum codicum, domatis vel fenestre. Hoc enim subiaceret laicorum officio. Nec debet prelatus notare quomodo (per se vel per tortores subditos) predetur de subiectis plurem pecuniam; 5 sed quomodo et quante contra diabolum partem fortificet cristianam.

the Bishops ought in their visits to attend to the souls of their flocks.

Sunt autem duo funes rostrati quos diabolus complicit sub vicario anticristo. Primus enim funis demoniaci terroris, scilicet excommunicatio. Et 2^{us} est funis ficti amoris, scilicet absolutio; cum istis duobus funibus 10 complicitis trahit anticristus cum membris suis pusillos et magnos, cautela diaboli tenebratos, ad magistrum suum Leviathan.

Two cords by which the Devil and Antichrist drag souls to Hell: that of false terror: excommunication; and that of false love: absolution.

De excommunicatione vero dictum est alibi, quomodo 5 sumitur nunc active, nunc passive communius; et hoc tripliciter; vel a deo, vel ab homine, vel utrinque. Omnis itaque prescitus est perpetuo excommunicatus a deo, quomodocunque benedictus fuerit ab homine. Quilibet etiam criminosus excommunicatur a deo secundum 10 presentem iusticiam. Et quandoque contigit hominem excommunicare deo conformiter; utputa, quando ex caritate excommunicat quem deus excommunicat; et quandoque deo difformiter, sive *maledixerit cui deus benedixerit*, sive *maledixerit* maledicto a deo perverso animo. Oportet 15 enim quod excommunicator concordet cum deo in causa et modo. In causa, ut excommunicet propter eandem causam propter quam deus prius excommunicat. In modo vero concordat cum deo, cum Deus caritas est, quando excommunicat etiam excommunicatum a deo iuxta 20 regulam caritatis. Si ergo a regula ista deviat, tunc se ipsum excommunicat; ut excommunicans propter vindictam habendam, vel propter pecuniam, vel possessionem proximi rapiendam. In hoc enim deficit a modo, quo prima caritas excommunicat. Excommunicatio autem 25 passiva | sophisticatur multipliciter: ut dicit quandoque exclusionem a communione fidelium, ne quis participet eorum meritis: quod deo est proprium et datum homini fideliter promulgare. Quandoque autem dicit penam spirituale vel subtractionem spiritualis suffragii;

Excommunication, active or passive, may proceed from God, man or both.

Every 'fore-known' is excommunicated for ever, and many elect for a time, by God.

Man may excommunicate rightly, if his sentence agrees in cause and motive with that of God's, and proceeds from charity; if one of these requisites be absent, he only excommunicates himself.

Passive excommunication means either separation from all share in the merits of the faithful, or a spiritual punishment, as being refused the sacraments;

1. ornamentorum *deest* A. 2. jacet B. 4. subditis *pro* subiectis BC. 7. rostrati B. 8. suo B; *ib.* est C. 11. trahit BC. 14. Nota de excommunicatione *in marg.* B. 16. utrique AB. 23. diforit^m A. 27-29. In — excommunicat *deest* A. 30. igitur C. 32. passionem A. 36. ut *pro* ne omnes MSS. 38. enim B.

quomodo Paulus excommunicavit corinthus fornicarium, tradendo ipsum sathane; et quomodo multi excluduntur a societate sanctorum et percipione sacramentorum, quibus spiritualiter iuvarentur. Et in isto consistit magna sophisticacio: ut tyrannus, proscribendo suum legium, quandoque excludit ab eo societatem in qua tam active quam passive amplius mereretur; et talis excommunicacio est maxime in regibus et mundi potentibus; ut patet de exulacione sanctorum.

By another sort of excommunication, with vociferations, bells and candles, still more blasphemous and hurtful to those who employ it, Sed alia excommunicacio fingitur qua prelati, scribendo 10 et vociferando, cum candelis accensis et campanis sinistre pulsatis et aliis solempnibus adinventis. Et inter omnes adinventiones diaboli citissime blasphematur in hoc fune, cum sicut instrumentum rastratum ledit et lacerat abutentem, sic et rastratur et leditur ipse qui abutitur 15 isto funiculo. Et ista cautela est potissima inter discipulos anticristi contra cristicolas; sicut Judicum 4^o legitur chananeos pugnasse contra israelitas falcatis

they claim to lay a ban even on the land and the elements near the accursed, with the power of Christ who, as God, blasted the fig-tree for a sign.

curribus. Excecarunt autem populum, hortantes eos credere ut ewangelium quod, eo ipso quo post incantaciones suas sic excommunicaverint quemquam, maledicitur totum adiacens ad multa miliaria undique. Et in hoc magnificantur supra Cristum; ipse enim maledixit ficui in figuram, licet non demeruit, ut patet Matth. 21; quia est plenus dominus cuilibet creature; ideo iustum est quod quelibet creatura ad nutum sibi subserviat. Anticristus autem pretendit se maledicere elementis propter causam Cristi, quia cristicola non wult parere, in causa diaboli, anticristo. Talis, inquam, maledicitur cum tota creatura adiacente per 7^{em} miliaria 30 circumquaque.

They say that this power, belonging to the patriarchs and still more to the Apostles, has come down to them as their successors. Sed dicitur huic stulte demencie anticristi, quod ipse non habet potestatem nisi a Cristo; nec Cristus dat cuiquam potestatem, nisi ad sequendum ipsum et

Judic. IV, 3

Matth. XXI,

1. excommunicat A. 3. participacione C. 7. meretur AB. 8. est C A.
9. exclusionem B. 14. rostratum A. 15. sicut A; ib. in se ipso A.
18. pugnare C. 19. Excecarunt C. 23. magnificatur A. 26. ut quemlibet A; ut quelibet C. 28. electis AB. 29. cum anticristo B; cum deest C.

faciendum sibi et legi sue conformiter. Ideo debet in primis Cristum recognoscere et secundum voluntatem suam facere; a quo si deviat, sciat quod potestatem blasfeme vendicat. Ideo faciat patribus antiquis plene similiter; et tunc potest de tanto potestatem consimilem vindicare. Sed simeales argucie anticristi excecant plurimos, credentes quod Cristus deficeret sue ecclesie, nisi daret istis prelati tantam huiusmodi potestatem. Ideo, cum deest tam ratio quam operatio quibus potestas ista doceretur, mandant subiectis ut fidem hoc credere.

to follow his law; which they must first know and follow, before setting forward such pretensions, by which many are blinded.

Et sic illuduntur ydiote perfidia potestatis, sicut illuditur de sacramento altaris. Ibidem enim fingunt sine ratione vel auctoritate infinita miracula, ad que non necessitat ratio vel auctoritas vel experientia; quia ponunt perverse quod illud sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto. Et sicut blasphemant deum tantum maledicere sine causa, sic blasphemant quod deus omnino destruit materialem substantiam panis et vini, remanente sine causa nuda essentia accidentis. Et sicut fingunt quod panis non potest remanere et fieri corpus Christi, sic fingunt quod quis non potest fieri prelati sub tali nomine, nisi habuerit tam fictam diabolicam potestatem. Utrobique ergo rimandi sunt limites ad quos stat finaliter excommunicatio huiusmodi; scilicet, quid mali ad maximum excommunicato ingeritur. Et cum non quietantur in expulsiōe corporali a basilica vel conversancium comitiva (quia hoc posset secularis facere), fingunt quod deus eo ipso odit quem excommunicant in subtrahendo gratiam, communicat rebus vicinis potestatem

Parallel between these practices and the doctrine of the Eucharist.

Both imply endless miracles without motive, authority or proof; both imply an evil action of God upon corporeal elements; and as bread cannot become Christ's body if it remains, neither can a man become a prelate without having this power.

As they claim not only the power of expelling from the Church, but also of withdrawing grace and inflicting

4. plane A. 9. tanta A. 10. mandat C. 15. vel deest after ratio C. 17. sic C. 20. sic C. 21, 22. remanere — potest deest C. 26. excommunicatus AB. 29. adicit A.

24. It is well known that many abuses accompanied the practice of excommunication by bishops, which is, I believe, no longer allowed. In the *Life of Saint Louis*, by Joinville, there is a striking passage that illustrates the abuse and at the same time the independence of mind of the saintly King. A certain Bishop was urging him, for conscience' sake, to oblige all such as were excommunicated to submit and receive absolution. But the King at once pointed out the case of a man who, having a lawsuit against a Bishop, was excommunicated by him, appealed to Rome, and after seven years, gained his suit. "If I had compelled him to submit", said Saint Louis, "I should evidently in this case have acted unjustly".

bodily harm by
their curse, we
must note that
one power —
that of slaying
or delivering to
Satan — is no
more theirs than
the raising of
the dead.

Another — that
of separating
the offender,
lest he do harm
— can be
exercised by the
flock better
than by the
priest, if he be
perverse;

and it were
well if a bad
worldly priest
were thus ex-
communicated;
for he is
hurtful in all
that he does.

And some
indeed hold
themselves aloof
from such
hypocrites,
whom a dread
judgment
awaits.

Another sort of
excommunica-
tion may take
place when it
is revealed that
such a one does
much evil to the
Church, being
a castaway;

but great
prudence ought
to be exercised
here, and
(unless the
contrary is
revealed) we

vindicandi; et ista est maniaca blasfemia. Habet autem
sacerdos ^{3^{cem}} potenciam excommunicandi. Primo occi-
dendo vel tradendo sathane personam quam deus pre-
cipit taliter cruciari; ut patet de Petro et Paulo, Act. 5
et prima Cor. 5. Talis autem potestas deficit prelati
nostris hodie, sicut deficit potestas suscitandi mortuos,
et sanandi demoniacos. Secundum genus excommunica-
cionis est, dum patet notorie infectiva malicia peccatoris
notorii, interdicitur (pro cavendo periculo), quod comu-
nicet cum grege domini. Et licet sacerdotes debeant ex
maiori prudencia exercere illud officium, tamen videtur
michi quod, ipsis perversis, hoc magis pertinet ad secu-
lares prudentes; cum illud sacramentum non requirit
in excommunicante tantam virtutem vel vim numinis.

Immo, videtur hortandum per modum consilii quod
secularis vel fidelis non comunicet cum presbitero vel
prelato cesareo, qui vivit symoniace vel seculariter; cum;
sive excommunicando, sive sacramenta ministrando, vel
orando, vel quidquam aliud faciendo, inficit se et suos.
Ideo, nisi deus ordinasset fidelibus suis sacerdotem
in eternum dominum Jesum Cristum, olym per istam
venenosam duodenam destructa fuisset ecclesia. Tales
enim prelati, sive sint pape, cardinales vel episcopi, vel
eorum ministri, plus officiunt quam proficiunt; cum directe
officiunt, sed non proficiunt, nisi forsitan indirecte. Quidam
enim ex gracia dei, cum vident quod isti qui fingunt se
Cristi vicarios tantum exorbitant, et quanta pena pro
ippocritis qui nec dicunt nec faciunt, sed obligantur ad
utrumque, sit divino iudicio preparata, nituntur istos
meritorie conculcare et per viam contrariam transmeare.

^{3^m} genus excommunicandi ex speciali revelacione
ostenditur, quando deus revelat fideli vel intoxica-
cionem vel reprobacionem quam prescitus infert ecclesie,
et ex illo prenosticat talem esse a fidelibus ut ex-
communicatum fugiendum. Et istud in generali docetur
Matth. 18, quod quilibet fidelis fugiat peccantem in eum
post ternam correpcionem *sicut ethnicum et publicanum*.
Nec videtur michi quod aliquis prefigeret terminum
crimini excommunicationis huiusmodi, nisi sibi fuerit
specialiter revelatum; quia notum est quod licet comu-
nicare cum sceleratissimo, gracia convertendi; cavendo

2. ^{3plex} genus excommunicationis in marg. B; ib. potestatem C.
5. et prima Cor. 5 deest AB. 23. vel deest C. 33. inferret BC.
36. ecclesia pro cum A. 40, 41. ex^{com}municat C.

semper de consensu sextuplici et intendendo promovere
ad obedienciam legis Cristi. Sic enim fideles servi stant
cum sceleratis dominis, sperando quod eorum ministerio
convertentur; quia aliter videtur quod scientes domi-
5 norum suorum nequiciam forent dampnabiles ex consensu.
Quis, inquam, scit si deus convertat quantumcunque
sceleratum, ut comunicacio cum eo prosit ecclesie?
Sic enim Paulus blasphemus conversus est ad magnam
IX utilitatem ecclesie, Act. 9°. Unde videtur quod tempus
10 prefigere ad talem conversionem sit deum temptare; cum
11th Judit. 8., scribitur: *Quid est verbum, in quo consensit*
10 *Ozias, ut tradat civitatem Assiriis, si infra quinque dies*
non venerit adiutorium nobis? Et qui estis vos, qui temp-
tatis dominum? Non est iste sermo qui misericordiam
15 *provocet, sed potius qui iram excitet et furorem accendat.*
Posuistis vos tempus miseracionis domini, et in arbitrio
vestro diem constituistis ei.

Cum igitur prescitus ignorat tempus conversionis scelerati ad dominum, patet quam blasphemum foret legem
20 statuere sive defendere quod quicumque fuerit excommunicatus a satrapa, censeatur excommunicatus quousque a tali fuerit absolutus. Non enim timuerunt fideles post
instruccionem spiritus sancti comunicare cum Paulo; cum opera sua, sine absolucione huiusmodi, ostenderant
25 conversionem prius notorie blasfemie et ecclesiam persequentis. Sic enim contingeret secundum hanc legem
diabolicam aufugere quantumcunque sanctum per quem deus ordinavit edificare ecclesiam, tanquam scelestum
apostotam: sicut dicitur cardinales horruisse Robertum
30 lyncolnensem tamquam diabolum. Et sic contingeret
romanam curiam dampnatos diabolos canonisare et adorandos mandare; sed sanctos in celo excommunicare
et dampnatos reputare, quia plus credunt perverso
satraparum iudicio, quam vivis operibus Jesu Cristi.
35 Nec mirum; quia eorum absolucio et excommunicacio

may
communicate
with the worst,
but only for
their good.

We can never
be sure that a
man is a
castaway, and
have no right
to fix a time
for his
conversion.

A 'foreknown'
cannot know if
a sinner will be
converted; why
then accept the
excommunica-
tion of one
who may be
foreknown?
The faithful
communicated
with Paul before
he was
absolved:
which,
according to the
law, they should
not have done.
Saints are ex-
communicated,
devils
canonized; and
this because of
venality.

3. d'mis dn̄s pro dominis A. 6. sit B. 8. Sicut pro sic omnes
MSS. 11. Quod AB. 13-15. temptatis — furorem in marg. A.
15. accendant A. 22. plus A. 31. Romam AB. 32. adorantes A.
33. repugnare B.

29. Grosseteste, whose independence of character and resistance to certain arrangements made by the Pope, is well known, must have been looked upon with scant favour in Rome. Wyclif however, possibly exaggerates this feeling, when he describes him as being very near excommunication.

A robber can force them to absolve him, and what they would do for fear of losing, they would do for the hope of getting money; yet a perfect man should be ready to die rather than commit such deceitful and scandalous sacrilege.

Such venality is a proof that absolutions are of no value; so excommunication can do no harm. And their blessings are like that with which they make the sacramental bread of infinitely worse nature than it was.

A few rules laid down:
1. Excommunication ought to proceed from a spirit of love;

est ita venalis ut asinus; ymmo predones pessimi possunt ab eis extorquere absolucionem et a pena et a culpa, pro timore servili; sicut beneficiorum collaciones, sacramentorum ministraciones, et quantumcunque spiritualia opera pretenderent se facere pro edificacione ecclesie; 5 quia quando basis officii est venalis, omnia ad illam consequencia esse venalia implicatur. Nec finget homo quod talis absolucio non est vendibilis, licet pro violencia poterit extorqueri; quia ille qui dat absolucionem huiusmodi, cuius blasphemiam posset pro mille marcis 10 evadere, vellet eandem vendere pro tantumdem pecunie, cum fides flagitat quod pro nulla amissione temporalium, nec pro pena corporis inferenda, consentiret perfectus tali dacioni absolucionis; cum deus exhinc blasphematur, absolutus periculose decipitur, et per consequens auctori- 15 sans hoc facinus dampnabiliter scandalisatur.

Talis ergo venalitas beneficiorum et absolucionum et privilegiorum indicat quod non valent, et per consequens excommunicaciones et alie censure fecte non nocent passis, nisi ut pro spolianda peccunia terreant ydiotas. 20 Ymmo, sicut benedicunt panem sacramentalem et faciunt virtute benedictionis sue ipsum infinitum esse peiorem naturaliter quam panis non consecratus qui prefuit; sic est de benediccionibus, absolucionibus et privilegialibus, quibus illudunt hominibus. Dicunt enim quod panis 25 sacramentalis virtute benedictionis sit sacramentum; et ille, cum sit accidens, est pane qui prefuit infinitum imperfeccior in natura. Nec sunt commendandi ex hoc quod faciunt corpus Cristi esse in illo, quia natura divina prius essencialiter fuit in illo accidente. Et si 30 corpus Cristi sit in tali accidente noviter ad sustentandum ipsum et faciendum miracula, hoc est accione sue benedictionis perverse, sicut deus assistit servo suo roborando ipsum graciosius, dum sibi irronice benedicunt! In omnibus autem istis per patrem mendacii sophisti- 35 catur ecclesia.

Sed redeundo ad materiam de excommunicatione, ut caucius caveatur anticristi decepicio, pono aliquas conclusiones, | quarum sentencias sepe asserui. Prima: 48

1. est deest A; ib. ita deest omnes MSS. 7. qn^a pro consequencia A.
11. vel licet pro vellet A; ib. evadere B; ib. tantumdem B. 12. flagittat AC.
17. igitur C; ib. et deest C. 21. benedictum A. 24. privilegiationibus C.
30, 31. et si — sit deest B. 34. yronice C. 35. matrem A.
37. reddendo A.

Nemo debet excommunicare aliquem, nisi propter amorem quem habet ad illum; patet ex fide. Nam nemo debet excommunicare aliquem, nisi ex caritate et in caritate, iuxta preceptum Cristi in suo apostolo I. Cor. ultimo.

5 *Omnia vestra in caritate fiant.* Item, nemo debet excommunicare aliquem nisi sibi subditum et nisi gracia medicine. Sed nemo debet talem medicinam apponere, nisi gracia caritatis; ergo nemo, debet excommunicare alium, nisi gracia caritatis. Unde signum est quod prelatus specialiter diligit subiectum quem sic excommunicat; vel aliter illum non excommunicat, sed se ipsum.

to be exercised only on those that belong to the jurisdiction, and as spiritual medicine; for which medicine some are wont to thank their physicians.

Unde quidam solent regraciari suis excommunicantibus, quod dignabantur, tam laboriose, tam assidue et tam specialiter opponere illis medicinam tam validam. Et cum sciunt ex fide apostoli ad Rom. 8. *Quod timentibus*

8 *deum omnia cooperantur in bonum* sperant quod medicina apposita illis proficiet. Item, si quis debet excommunicatum suum non diligere, potissime foret verum de illo qui excommunicat inimicum. Sed iuxta fidem omnis

Even in excommunicating a personal enemy, we ought to love him, as the physician does his patient.

20 cristianus debet diligere generaliter inimicos, et sic omnis excommunicans suum excommunicatum. Nam ingratus foret medicus carnalis, qui non diligeret suum patientem; multo magis de spiritali medico, qui debet de cura vel diligencia plus premii reportare. Minor autem argumenti patet ex diffinitione Cristi Matth. 5^o.

These are Christ's precepts and examples too.

43 *Audistis quia dictum est antiquis: "diliges amicum tuum et odio habebis inimicum tuum."* Ego autem dico vobis: *diligite inimicos vestros:* quod opere complevit, in Scarioth et aliis inimicis. Unde, quia medicina excommunicacionis

But if such medicine is good, we should not wish to have it soon removed, but bear it with patience, as let us hope that Pope Urban bears the excommunications of Robert of Geneva.

30 per virtutem paciencie successive proficit, stultum foret nimis cito emplastrum excommunicacionis seiungere. Sic enim Cristus et sui ad eorum meritum et profectum ecclesie passi sunt excommunicacionem Iudeorum. Et Urbanus noster cum suis: utinam meritorie excommunicacionem patiatur gibbonensis! Causa enim spiritalis morbi debet sanari ab intrinseco, si sanetur, ad quod excommunicatus accelerare debet, et deficiente morbo debet sufferre longanimitate medicinam, dum conservat pacienciam et alias virtutes consolidat.

40 Secunda conclusio. Nemo debet excommunicare alium, principaliter propter peccuniam vel aliud sibi proprium,

2 It is not right to excommunicate

8. igitur C. 29. excommunicantis AB. 35. patitur omnes MSS.;
ib. gibbonensis B. 38. longanimitatis A. 39. pacivam A.
40. condicio AB.

A robber can
force them to
absolve him,
and what they
would do for
fear of losing
they would do
for the hope of
getting money,
yet a perfect
man should be
ready to die
rather than
commit such
deceitful or
scandalous
sacrilege.

Such venality
a proof that
absolutions
of no value
so excommu-
cation is
no law.
And the
blessing
like that
which
makes
sacraments
bread
infinitely
nature of
was

A
1.
cf
pi
s

proprium vindicandam. Et ista est
decret. 23 q. 4 ca°. *Inter querelas.*
excommunicans debet diligere suum
neque perfectam secundum conclusionem
pro quod sic, debet non diligere
quid temporale, vel vindictam sue
personam quam excommunicat; ergo,
necesse enim est magis contra legem
deus diligere temporalia (que homini
suum hominem; quia, cum deus caritas
hunc diligendi contrarium, manifestum
secundum ordinem duplicem perversum
est deum; et tales sunt detractores, homi-
nibus criminosis. Primi enim plus diligunt
seipsum quam personam cui
occidere plus diligunt bona que occiso
vitam persone occise. Et generaliter
consistit in perversione amoris ordinati;
adversatur divine voluntati. Cum igitur
potencius perversio caritatis diligendi
sic excommunicando, manifestum est quod
tali caritas est extincta.
blasphemum est usurpare quod deo est proprium;
est deo et incommunicabile creature princi-
paliter suam iniuriam; ergo blasphemum est
Et cum omnis sic excommunicans ita facit,
est quod omnis sic excommunicans blasphemat.
argumenti patet, ex hoc quod cum deus sit summus
omnium, omnis creatura debet plus ponderare
honorem suum quam iniuriam hominum. Et confirmacio
est quod generaliter bonum commune est pre-
terius quam suum privatum. Sed honor dei est bonum
communissimum. Sed quilibet honor creature proprius
suum respectu illius privatum: ergo, honor dei est
potius diligendum. In omni enim creatura servante
quem deus instituit, relucet principaliter honor
et cum non habet ex se aliunde honorem, mani-

vindicandum C. 4. secundum *deest omnes MSS.* 5. quod *deest* B.
et *deest* BC. 12. ordinem secundum C; *ib.* duplicem *deest* AC.
omni *pro* cui BC. 19. quo *pro* quia BC. 20. patencius C; *ib.*
omni *MSS.* 23. blasfemie C. 28. quod *deest* C; *ib.* cum
33. commissum AB; *ib.* proprius creature BC. 37. non
nec *MSS.*

festum est quod honor dei est undique principalior et
 generalior quam honor debitus creature. Plus ergo debet
 excommunicans zelare pro honore dei quam proprio;
 ymmo in nullo honorem suum attendere, nisi de quanto
 5 honorem dei sonuerit. Item, de lege et natura eleccionis,
 magis bonum est preferendum et diligencius observandum;
 sed magis bonum est quicquid deus preponit precepto
 vel natura: ergo illud est ab homine preferendum. Sed
 Deus docet tam natura quam precepto quod bonum
 10 communius et divinius amplius diligatur: ergo homo
 debet illi legi intendere. Unde propter rationem istius
 sentencie, omnes excommunicantes dicunt ypocritice quod
 19^a bonum intentum | ab eis pro deo principaliter est inten-
 tum; cum sciunt quod, sicut veritas sequitur ad sui
 15 ipsius destructionem, sic honor dei sequitur ad sui ipsius
 extinctionis pretensionem, eo quod presumptor talis
 quicumque punitur proportionaliter ad peccatum, et per
 consequens in iusta punitione rutilat honor dei. Ideo
 quicquid vendicant vel excommunicatione puniunt, ideo
 20 hoc faciunt principaliter, ut honor dei plus luceat. Sed
 examinemus, rogo, tales yppocritas, cum (secundum
 eorum principia) plus peccati plus ponderant. Videamus
 insuper si habita peccunia vel sue proprietati placencius
 plus quietat quam illud quod honori dei foret hono-
 25 rificencius, quia maioris iniurie extinctius. Et factum
 clamat oppositum, cum, excommunicato quolibet, quan-
 tumcunque atrociter, per accumulacionem peccunie
 potest faciliter emendari, eciam ipso continuante in
 priori iniuria. Ideo manifestum est quod affectio per-
 30 sonalis, amore dei postposito, est in causa. Et ista
 blasfemia laborat communiter in excommunicatione qualibet
 hodierna; quia aliter plus peccantem in legem dei
 generaliter plus puniret, et per consequens excommuni-
 carent sepe se ipsos. Nec lucrum suum saperet sua
 35 excommunicacio, posito quod sua vita legi dei amplius
 contrariet. Non enim est excommunicacio tantum sacra-
 mentum, quin possunt ipsam ferre in se ipsis; cum
 nemo excommunicatur vel leditur, nisi hoc fuerit ori-
 ginaliter a se ipso. Ymmo, sese sacerdos excommunicat

And we ought
 always to prefer
 the greater
 good, which is
 what God
 commands.

And therefore
 they all say
 hypocritically
 that what they
 do is done by
 zeal for God's
 law; but as
 truth is proved
 by its own
 contradiction,
 so God's
 honour is but
 increased by
 the attempt to
 take it away.

But what as a
 fact pleases
 them most is to
 get money or
 property rather
 than satisfy
 God's honour;
 for if a man
 offers a large
 sum, he will be
 absolved, even
 though he
 should continue
 to sin.

They ought to
 lay their curses
 on the chiefest
 sinners, and so
 excommunicate
 themselves first.

As would
 happen if they

7. quicquid C. 8, 9. ergo — quam deest AC. 10. communis A.
 11. rationem deest A. 12. dictum A; ib. yppocrite A. 14. cum deest A.
 18. ista pro iusta C. 22. poderatur C. 23. igitur pro insuper C;
 ib. sue deest B; ib. proprietate A. 25. extinctio A. 26. quo pro cum A.
 32. in lege AB. 34. sepe deest A. 35. dei deest A. 36. Nemo A;
 ib. blank space for tantum B; deest C.

And to their
arguments in
favour of
obedience due
to them,
I answer:

1. That we
have faith in
the Gospel, and
follow the
counsels of
Christ.

2. That except
in so far as
they agree with
these, we should
not obey even
an Angel's
commands.

3. And that if
they come,
greedy and
worldly,
pretending to
stand in
Christ's place,
they are
Antichrists,
and ought to
get nothing.
Christ's
followers do

good and
receive as alms
a little food and
raiment:

Antichrist's
extort by
excommuni-
cations what
is not due to
them; they
should be
resisted in
patience.

One law in
England is very
unjust: that a
man, ex-
communicated
during 40 days
by a bishop,
should be
imprisoned and
despoiled.

For as a bishop
may be

Et quantum ad commenta sua, quibus seducit populum,
quod quidquid ipse precepit subiectus debet ut fidem
credere et implere; quod non excommunicat propter
pecuniam, sed propter mortalem inobedienciam ex eius
negacione sequentem; et quod Cristus pepigit secum ⁵
quidquid ille sentenciaverit, quod implebit: Primo, fidem
ewangelii habent fideles alii, et observant ut illi Cristi
consilia. Sciunt secundo, quod nec sibi nec *angelo de*
celo obedire debeant, nisi in quantum debet obedire
Cristo in observancia sui consilii vel precepti. Et sciunt ¹⁰
³⁰, quod si veniunt *in vestimentis ovium*, fingentes de ^{Matth.}
Cristo mendacium, quod sunt spirituales sui vicarii, dum ^{III, 13}
conversacio sua sit secularis et confabulacio sua questum
sapiens, nullus est detestabilior anticristus; et per con-
sequens non debet dari eis pro excommunicatione sua ¹⁵
peccunia vel sibi equivalens, sed potius subtrahi; cum,
ut sic, non illis, sed Cristi pauperibus sunt illa debita.
Nam de scola Cristi est, titulo elemosine, post opus
meritorium edificatorium ecclesie, alimenta et tegu-
menta parce recipere. Scola vero anticristi extorquet ²⁰ M.
per excommunicationes et alias censuras terrificas disci-
pulis suis indebitum; et contra illos debet totus
cristianismus insurgere, negando eis bona pauperum, et
suas excommunicationes equanimiter tollerando. Sic enim
fecit Cristus cum suis discipulis paciendiores ²⁵
excommunicationes sophisticas sacerdotum; quia, ut tactum
est, censura iniuste illata prodest humiliter paciendi, et
sic toti ecclesie, dum non eo minus consequitur illud
quod debet, domino mandante. Et omnino debet detegi
secularibus istud sophisma diaboli, quo dampnabiliter ³⁰
peccant in excommunicatione huiusmodi ex consensu. Currit
enim ut lex in anglia, quod si episcopus signavit quem-
quam excommunicari per 40 dies continuos, tunc debet
incarcerari et punitus multipliciter spoliari. Cum igitur
prelati non sunt tantum confirmati quin contingat eos ³⁵

1. coniuncta A; commenta *corr. ex* coniuncta C. 2. preceperit C.
4. propter *deest* C. 6. Nam *pro* primo omnes MSS. 8. angelis B.
9. quanto C. 10. precepto A. 16. et per consequens *pro* sed potius A.
18. de *deest* omnes MSS. 19. edificacionem B. 21. per *deest* A.
28. prosequitur B. 31. excommunicatione huiusmodi *deest* A. 31. cur
pro currit A. 31, 32. enim currit BC. 33. debet *deest* C. 35. sint C.

6. This substitution — *primo* for *nam* — makes sense. If
not admitted, we must suppose that at least one sentence, prob-
ably beginning with *primo*, is wanting before *nam*.

multociens excommunicare insontes, patet quod auctori-
santes implicantur scelere oppressionis iniuste proximi
ex consensu. Item, secundum leges ecclesie, debet meritorie
sufferre excomunicacionem ut medicinalem pro suo pro-
5 fectu. Si igitur debet exhinc incarcerationi post 40 dies,
manifeste implicatur quod debet sic incarcerationi quia
meritorie servit Cristo; et talis indubie est tradicio
anticristi. Item, cum Robertus gilbonensis excomunicat
papam nostrum cum suis complicitibus et econtra, sicut
10 Iudei excommunicant Cristum cum suis filiis, et econtra;
nec est notum ex fide de primis excommunicatoribus que
pars tenet iusticiam; igitur secularis neutram partem
debet defendere, sed permittere utrumque contententes
sese confundere; et per idem nusquam excomunicacionem
15 talem, nisi revelacione habita, confirmare, cum peccat
graviter contra Cristum consensiendo iniuste, vel parti
false. Satis multe sunt igitur leges civiles viciose, licet
non sint legibus anticristi nequioribus onerate.

Sed unum videtur michi manifestum, quod licet ad
20 reges ab iniuriis excommunicancium appellare. Nam apo-
ct. stolus appellavit Cesarem (act. 23) existentem de pro-
V, pinquiori superstite tam beato Petro papa ecclesie Cristi,
I quam eciam summis sacerdotibus synagoge. Cum igitur
illa appellacio, ex fide scripture, fuit magis autentica
25 quam aliqua alia secundam legem cesaream vel papalem,
quia ex instinctu spiritus sancti facta, videtur quod licet
fidelibus secundum hanc formam potissime appellare.
Et certum est quod causa potissima huius apellationis
fuit observancia legis Cristi. Causa autem accessoria
30 fuit protelacio vite Pauli; et secundum talem intencionem
duplicem consimilem debet fidelis ad regem in ex-
N. comunicacionis iniuria appellare. Item, in nulla causa
licet appellare, nisi ad iudicem superiorem, qui in illa
causa debet cognoscere et errata corrigere; sed licet
35 in causa excomunicacionis ad regem appellare: ergo
ad regem pertinet ista discutere: consequens inconveniens
50 adversariis. Ideo, petendo subsidium | a secularibus pro
excomunicacionis confirmacione, confundunt iurisdicciones
et subiciunt clericos: quod evitant. Finis enim legis et
40 eius complecio est forma ultima perfeccior precedenti.

mistaken, this
is oppression
on the part of
those who
allow it.

And since such
a sentence may
be borne
meritoriously, a
man may be
imprisoned for
doing a good
deed.

Again, when
Pope Urban
and Robert of
Geneva
anathematize
each other, and
we cannot know
which side is in
the right, the
secular powers
should stand by
and not
interfere.

One point is
certain: that we
may appeal to
the King, as
Paul did to
Caesar.

This appeal,
inspired by the
Holy Ghost for
the observance
of Christ's law
and St. Paul's
protection, may
serve as a
model for us.

And the fact
that we may
thus appeal
proves against
our adversaries
the kingly
authority in
such matters.

They
themselves do
so, by appealing
to the secular
arm; if the
State were not

1. iniuste excommunicare insontes BC; *ib.* patet *deest* C. 4. 5. per-
petuo *pro* profectu *omnes* MSS. 5. per A. 8. Gibbonensis B.
15. cum peccat *twice* A. 21. cesarem, ut patet BC; *ib.* existente B.
22. quam *pro* papa A. 26. *de* *pro* videtur C; *ib.* quod quidem licet C.
30. proelacio AC. 35. igitur C.

above the Church, they should not recur to it. Cum enim omnis appellacio sapit civilitatem, non foret fugiendum ecclesie ad brachium seculare, nisi ipsum, ut sic, foret superius ut ostensum est in materia *de rege*. Rex enim debet esse dei vicarius, et papa Cristi vicarius, secundum Augustinum, in signum quod rex debet procedere secundum divinam potenciam, et papa secundum humanitatis Cristi pacienciam; et sic petitur forum superius, cuius est per ministros causam dei cognoscere.

The King, God's vicar, should have his power; the Pope, Christ's vicar, his patience.

Item, diabolus nimis cecaret reges, si vicarius suus anticristus necessitaret eos ad incarcerandum servum Cristi, nisi debeant causam cognoscere, si causa sit legitima: quia aliter supponendum esset eos in hoc esse inpeccabiles, et magistrum suum extolli supra Cristum, dum licenciant ad ducendum fideles per aliam viam, quam Cristus principiat. Oportet ergo ex fide quod cognoscant causam pro qua debeant sic punire, quia aliter cece sine noticia veritatis (que Cristus est), deberent ledere matrem suam: quod est manifesta blasfemia; debent ergo secundum legem Cristi cognoscere quid est utile matri sue, dicente Augustino, sup. Joh. omelia 11: "Intendat caritas vestra quid dicam; quia pertinet ad reges seculi cristianos, ut temporibus suis pacatam faciant suam ecclesiam unde spiritualiter nati sunt." Ideo, ut sepe dixi, per secularem potenciam secundum causam civilem debent secundum legem Cristi regere matrem suam, et sunt ut superiores, subditis eciam quibuscunque presbiteris sic adiutis.

It were monstrous, if the King were compelled to imprison a man without knowing why.

Thus they must know what they do, or they would judge blindly; and their duty is to give peace to the Church. It follows that they are our superiors,

Ad illos igitur debent episcopi appellare; et si in hoc inventi fuerint proditores regis et regni, debent accucius quam pro alia prodicione temporalium castigari; quia produnt nedum corpus a temporali regno, sed corpus et animam, quantum in eis est, dampnant evidencius ad infernum. Sed defectus fidei est causa quare pacienciam istius periculi non attendunt.

and should judge the Bishops and condemn them if guilty of spiritual, which is far worse than temporal treason.

4. Vicarius dei et Cristi qui sunt *in marg.* A. 6. precedere AB.
 8. pars *pro* per AB. 8, 9. cognoscere tñ dei C. 9. *T in red ink* A.
 15. licenciat C. 16. igitur C. 20. igitur C. 21. sup. Joh. *deest* A.
 23. paccatam C. 27. ut *deest* A; ut sic C. 30. regimini A.
 34, 35. potenciam A.

21. Aug. In Jo. Tract. XI, c. 14 (Migne, t. 35, p. 1483).

CAPITULUM OCTAVUM.

A. Quintus tortor est officialis, sive episcopi, sive archidiaconi, qui precipue preeligitur ad congregandum magistro suo peccuniam. Et sic est comuniter de decano
 5 et aliis officiariis in ista yerarchia diaboli ordinatis. Et quia secundus funis ficti amoris est penitencia, in qua includitur oris confessio, cordis contricio et operis satisfaccio: ideo de illa est paululum disserendum.

The fifth 'tortmentor' is the official employed to get money chiefly by penance:

Arguunt enim naturales comuniter, quod hoc non
 10 est unum sacramentum. Primo quia, ex defectu unitatis subiecti, non est aliquid unius generis, cum primum subiectatur in anima, secundum corporale et sensibile subiectatur in organo elloquentis, et tertium, diu post succedens, est indeterminate in potestate presbiteri, de
 15 quocumque opere quod voluerit limitare, et comuniter non perficitur in hac vita; quando ergo foret talis penitencia? vel quomodo foret sensibile sacramentum?

which, it may be argued is not a sacrament, for it wants unity of parts: contrition being in the soul, confession on the lips, and satisfaction, coming long after, and dependent on the will of the priest.

Sed dimissa logicis hac controversia, cum officialis, de quo nobis sermo, dicitur de *officiare*, videndum est
 20 de huius comunis funis origine. Supponitur ergo quod penitencia dicatur equivoce, nunc pro displicencia animi de peccato, nunc pro continuacione penalis propositi non iterandi; 3^o vero sumitur aggregative pro multis; et tunc sumitur famosius pro voce con-
 25 fitentis et rite absolventis cum contricione, penitencia et satisfaccione confessi; et nunc sumitur tam in sua quidditate quam in sua proprietate pro una istarum parcium, et nunc pro reliqua; et nunc dicitur quod, deficiente una parte a suo ordine, non est nisi falsa
 30 penitencia, ut dicitur de successivis aliis aggregatis; nec debemus sollicitari de forma verborum confitentis

But the word 'penance' has many different meanings,

which are apt to be confused together. There is no true penance if one of its parts are wanting: i. e. essential parts and not mere ceremonies.

1. Cap. VIII in red ink A. 2. 5⁶⁹ tortor in red ink C; ib. officialis A.
 4. est deest B. 6. finis C. 7. omnis A. 10. quia deest A.
 11. principium AB. 12. in corpore C. 13. subiectatur deest A.
 19. officere C. 20. funeris AC. 24. facciosius omnes MSS. 25. previa C.
 27. quid pro quam A. 28. pro deest B.

It is a sacrament by which sins are blotted out of the heart and made satisfaction for; thus differing from Baptism, which does not require satisfaction.

Objection: This definition would denote equally well the general confession made at Mass; thus there need be no auricular confession.

Now this is against the Decretal, which says that every faithful must confess once a year to his appointed priest (or any other whom he may allow) and take Holy Communion at Easter, under pain of exclusion from church during life and of denial of Christian burial after death.

Here it is clear that auricular confession is obligatory;

We ought therefore to add to the definition confession and all its rites.

vel absolventis, nec de solitudine eorum vel auriculacione formali aut manus inpositione. Omnia, inquam, talia relinquo cultoribus signorum, qui quidditates et modos sacramentorum tanquam articulos fidei solempniant. Sic ergo penitencia potest dici *sacramentum*, per 5 *quod in mente fit peccati delecio et pro ipso peccato satisfaccio*; et sic distinguitur a Baptismo; quia, licet peccatum originale ac actuale debeat, tamen non implicat de sua ratione formali quod ille baptizatus, quin potius Cristus pro peccato baptismo delecto satisfaciatur. 10

Sed contra istam descriptionem arguitur. Videtur enim quod convenit cuicumque qui, audiendo missam, confitetur in eius inicio generaliter sacerdoti. Nam tali confessioni competit comunius dicta descriptio quam solitarie confitenti: ergo et ratio diffiniti; et per consequens non oportet aliter confiteri proprio sacerdoti. Consequens contra decretalem in quinto, qua ex consilio generali sic dicitur: "Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discrecionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus B. peccata saltem semel in anno fideliter confiteatur proprio 20 sacerdoti et iniunctam penitenciam pro suis viribus studeat adimplere, suscipiens reverenter | ad minus in 50th pascha eucharistie sacramentum; nisi forte ex proprii sacerdotis consilio ob aliquam rationabilem causam ad tempus ab eius percepcione duxerit abstinendum. 25 Alioquin et vivens ab ecclesie ingressu arceatur, et moriens cristiana careat sepultura. Unde hoc salutare statutum frequenter in ecclesiis publicetur, ne quisquam ex ignorancie cecitate velamen excusacionis assumat. Si quis autem alieno sacerdoti voluerit iusta de causa 30 confiteri peccata, licenciam prius postulat et obtineat a proprio sacerdoti, cum aliter ipse illum non posset absolvere vel ligare." Ex isto videtur cunctos cristianos discretos astringi ex decreto ecclesie ad confitendum singulariter annuatim singula peccata sua proprio sacer- 35 doti. Ideo videtur quod oportet supperaddere ad sacramentum privatam auriculacionem et manu sacerdotis capitis taccionem, cum aliis ritibus adinventis.

2. formali aut omnes MSS. 4. fidei deest A. 5. Sicut igitur C. 6. dilectio B. 7. apmo pro Baptismo A; ib. qui pro quia BC. 8. vel pro ac B; aut C. 15. igitur C. 17. contra AB. 24. ob above ad A; ob causam aliquam C. 28. quisque A. 32. ipse deest A. 33. solve B; ib. istis BC. 34. discretos deest A. 37. penitencie B; privatam deest C. 38. et taccionem B.

Quod quia difficile est fundare vel credere, ideo foret
fundamentum necessarium in ista materia cognoscere
quid descriptive est penitencia, et quid vocalis confessio,
que dicitur secundum speciem ad salutem anime requi-
5 sita. Nec est dignus lucrum pro hoc sacramento exigere,
qui nescit penitenciam quam requirit a comuni distin-
guere. Nam verba sanctorum doctorum non convincunt
penitenciam quam requirunt. Recitat enim magister 4^o
sententiarum, dist. 14. quomodo beatus Ambrosius dicit
10 quod penitencia est peccata preterita plangere, et plan-
genda iterum non committere. Et beatus Gregorius dicit
quod penitere est peccata anteacta deflere et flenda
iterum non committere. Patet primo quod utraque istarum
descripcionum sanctorum implicat penitenciam non esse
15 sacramentum; quia planctum insensibilem in mente
absconditum. Videtur 2^o quod non est penitencia, dum
confitens recidivat. Et per consequens non est in potestate
cristiani complere penitenciam fratris sui, cum sit extra
potestatem suam facere quod confitens peccatum con-
20 fessum amplius non committat. Et iterum, manifestum
est quod talis penitencia potest perfecte impleri sine
confessione generali vel speciali facta proprio sacerdoti.
Non enim valet sophisticacio qua dicitur quod nemo
iterum committit peccata preterita sed alia, quia nimis
25 est quod committat eadem in specie.

Cum igitur tam sancti doctores et tam excellentes
capitales ecclesie sic descripserunt penitenciam (ex qua
descripcione sequitur quod fideles non teneantur virtute
sacramenti penitencie confiteri peccata sua proprio sacer-
30 doti), videtur quod lex predicta sit corruptela symoniace
introducenda. Nec repugnat diffinicio penitencie quam dat
magister ibidem, scilicet quod penitencia est virtus vel
gracia qua comissa mala cum emendacionis proposito
plangimus et odimus, et plangenda iterum committere
35 nolumus. Sic enim, inquam, iuxta genus penitencia
foret unum insensibile et non sacramentum, et per con-

This being inadmissible, we must see what the sacrament really is, for according to the Fathers, this confession is not penance.

Ambrose calls penance "to be sorry for past sins and not to commit them again".

Gregory uses like expressions.

Penance, being in the soul, is not an outward sign; it has not existed if the sin is repeated; no one can do penance for another; and confession is unnecessary. To say that a past sin, being past, cannot be repeated, is sophistry.

What is meant is the same sort of sin.

So the above mentioned law is corrupt.

To say that penance is a virtue by which we weep for our sins, still leaves it in the number of things invisible, and not a sacrament given by the priest.

1. et *pro* vel C. 11. committere C. 12. quod *deest* C. 14. sanc-
torum *deest* C. 22. vel speciali *deest* C. 24. que *pro* quia BC.

9. Petr. Lombardus, IV Sententiarum, c. 14, 1 Migne t. 192, p. 869).
30. *Corruptela*. The exact drift of Wyclif's argument is as follows. He takes the order to confess once a year, and proves that confession is not a sacrament: *therefore* the law is unjust. To understand the connexion, we must remember his general principle: no law is binding, unless grounded upon Scripture.

sequens sacerdos non dat sacramentum penitencie suo confitenti, quia nec dat virtutem nec gratiam, nec sanctum propositum voluntatis; sed hoc sepe impletur complecius in absencia sacerdotis. Quid ergo sibi et sacramento penitencie? Et dicere quod requiritur, sacer- 5 dote sedenti in alto, genuflexio, omnium peccatorum suorum singularis depromcio, et secundum formam adinventam cum inposicione manus in caput confessi cum cinere signatum sacerdotis absolucio, foret nimis blasfema ficticia. Omnia ergo ista videntur ad onus ecclesie in- 10 fundabiliter adinventata: et sic lex pape in 5^o decretalium supradicta.

Item, papa non potest obligare fidelem ad aliquid, nisi ad illud quod ipse potest docere vel facere esse rationale et meritorium obligato; sed hoc non potest 15 respectu mandati huius legis: ergo nec fideles taliter obligari. Papa enim non habet potestatem ordinandi cuilibet fideli laico sacerdotem sciolum et discretum, cui expedit laico sic confiteri, ut patet inferius. Quomodo ergo ordinaret sub tanta pena quod quilibet laicus 20 confiteatur sic peccata sua proprio sacerdoti? Blasfema, inquam, est obligacio ad impossibile, cuius impossibilitas per obligantem efficitur: ut obligare me ad confitendum ydoneo sacerdoti.

Et introducere scolam per quam est impossibile in- 25 venire talem, foret summa blasfemia. Sacerdos autem non fit ad hoc ydoneus, nisi et noticia et observancia legis dei. Et illam scolam papa diminuit, faciens ydolatras sitire mundana plus quam beatitudinem animarum. Faciat igitur quemlibet fidelem habere pro- 30 prium sacerdotem ydoneum ad illud officium, et tunc obliget, dum ratio et utilitas ad hoc movent. Sed non vadunt ad hoc ydiote promocio, ecclesiarum parochialium appropriacio, primorum fructuum, qui forent instrumenta disponendi presbiterum, candens collectio, 35 et a doctrina scripture per tradiciones humanas multiplicatas sacerdotum abstraccio. Infinita sunt talia, ut cardinalium et alienigenarum | promocio ac indigenarum 51^a aliunde habilium ad officium illud distraccio. Obligans itaque fideles tam contrarie est sathanas in abstracto. 40

And to say that the details of and ceremony connected with confession, are necessary, would be blasphemy.

All that only burdens the Church.

No one can be obliged to do what is not reasonable.

But the Pope cannot provide a discreet, and learned priest for every one. Then how can he command us to confess to one under such severe penalties?

And the Sects introduced have rendered it impossible to find such a one: the knowledge of God's law, now neglected, is necessary for that. Let the Pope first give us proper priests, and then oblige us to confess. But the way to this is not by corrupt patronage, appropriation of parish churches, and eager collection of first fruits, &c.

5. requirit *omnes* MSS. 6. flexo C. 7. depromcio A. 9. signatum et B. 10. ficta A; *ib.* Omnia enim ista BC. 13. aliud *in full* A. 15. obligare C. 21. sua *deest* C. 23. obligacionem A. 26. sententia A; summe B. 35. a *deest* C. 39. humilium A.

- D. Item non est ratio, quare homo ad minimum semel in anno debet taliter confiteri, quin per idem multociens, in casu quo delinquat multociens. Et sic irrationale sompnium videtur diffinire quod sufficit et requiritur ad salutem cuiuscumque semel in anno taliter confiteri; quocienscumque eget medico tam necessario, debet, propter infinitum maius periculum quam aliquid corporale, ad medelam sanitatis, omnibus aliis omissis, indilate transcurrere. Quis ergo sacerdos inponeret deo terminum miserendi, ut patet Judith 8: *Qui, inquit, estis vos, qui temptatis dominum? Non est iste sermo qui misericordiam provocet, sed potius qui iram excitet et furorem accendat. Posuistis vos tempus miseracionis Domini, et in arbitrio vestro diem constituistis ei. Et sequitur: In hoc peccato peniteamus.* Si igitur fidelis per annum preservat se a mortali, quis cogeret eum de necessitate salutis confiteri, ut ipsemet instituit? Si autem de necessitate salutis magis indigeat, quis diffidit minus deo sufficere? Per hoc enim quod limitatur peccantem semel in anno taliter confiteri, intelligitur quod hoc requiritur et sufficit cuicunque; et utrumque istorum est falsum. Debuit igitur mandasse quod omnis fidelis debet, quocienscumque eguerit, taliter confiteri. Sic quod papa nec potest facere quod quilibet sic egeat quo ad deum, nec excusare quoscunque qui sic faciunt, si plus egent. Supra vires itaque foret blasphemi constituisse talem legem.

- Nam, ut instant logici, multi habent discrecionem ad conterendum, et tamen sunt naturaliter surdi et muti. Multi etiam statim post discrecionem sunt subito mortui. Multi etiam vagantes per patrias non habent proprios sacerdotes, et cum huiusmodi legis obligacio non obligat quemcunque cristianum pro semper, quia sic teneretur quilibet pro semper confiteri proprio sacerdoti; et si semper obligat, non pro semper; satis est, ut arguunt logici, quod semel in quocunque anno confiteatur proprio sacerdoti; et sic multiplicantur mille logicales instancie, quod hec lex fuit false et inprovidae promulgata. Nam fidei confitente pro anno in comunitate cum reliquo et post statim decedente in gracia, non imputabitur sibi

Again, if a man ought to confess once a year, he should confess as often as he falls into sin and not wait.

It is therefore unreasonable to make that term suffice for salvation;

besides, it is fixing a time for God's mercy.

If a man can keep for one year from mortal sin, why confess?

And if he falls oftener, once a year will not suffice for God.

'It is required to confess once a year' implies that 'It is sufficient'.

Both are false; the right order would have been, 'Confess according to your need'.

Exceptional cases: some cannot confess. being deaf and dumb;

some die suddenly at the age of discretion;

some are wanderers, and have no 'proper priests'.

And there are endless difficulties about the perpetual obligation of this law;

3. mltoc^{no} (= multociens) A. 6. enim BC. 9. igitur C. 15. iterum pro igitur C. 20. totaliter C. 21. cuicunq. A. 25. quocienscumque A. 29. convertendum AB. 34. quilibet deest A. 35. non twice A. 37. multipliciter C. 40. et deest AC.

if v. g. a man
should die *just*
a year after his
last confession,
he would not
have confessed
the year of his
death; a year
is always
beginning; so
we ought to be

always
confessing:
The Decree
does not say
whether the
confession must
be general or
particular.

If the first,
there can be
no suitable
penance given.
If the second,
we cannot
remember all
circumstances
after the lapse
of a month;
and the penitent
will be damned
for not
remembering
them after a
year!

Both priests and
prelates are
now unable to
distinguish
what sins and
what virtues
are;

they are
blinded,
thinking that
sins are not
sins, or that
they even
render God
service by
persecuting the
godly.

Thus they are
unable to

quod pro anno mortis non est taliter confessus. Et si loquitur de annis in communitatibus, debet confiteri continue, cum pro quolibet instanti unus annus incipit, et alius terminatur. Item, quod omnis fidelis debet sic confiteri omnia peccata sua videtur mirabile, quia nec in generali, nec in speciali. Nam per generalem confessionem non innotescit absolventi quomodo penitentiam iniungeret, et de remedio provideret; et si dicta lex exigit confessionem specialem, videtur irrationabilis propter multa. Primo, quia quantumcunque memorati ad minus infra mensem perderent circumstantias agravantes: quomodo igitur datur sibi licencia expectandi per undecim menses? Non enim valet quod habet licenciam a lege ecclesie sic expectare, et tamen pro mora illa dampnabitur lege dei. Tunc enim forent ille leges contrarie, et statutum Romani episcopi lex iniqua, cum ipsam implens dampnabitur; oportet igitur ad iustificationem huius legis statuere ut non diucius expectet confessionem, quam plene recolit de circumstantia aggravante; ergo non taxaretur licencia durandi exclusive 20 per annum.

Similiter tam prelati quam subditi sic abducuntur per scolam aliquam quod ignorant ut plurimum tam crimina quam virtutes. Ex quo videtur quod comunitas cristianorum ratione legis huius necessitatur incidere 25 in mortale. Nam ab infimo laico usque ad Romanum pontificem, nec scitur quando generaliter peccatur mortaliter, nec quomodo mortalia et venialia distinguuntur: cum ex fide scripture patet quod multa sunt peccata et hereses, que prelati cecati non ponderant; ymmo, 30 prosequendo putant se obsequium prestare deo, cum alios ewangelicos persecuntur tamquam hereticos. Papa igitur, statuens quod omnes adulti confiteantur sic discrete omnia peccata, ordinaret vel promoveret quod ipsa peccata cognoscent; ad quod non promovet, sed 35

2. loquens A: loquimur C; *ib.* comunicantibus A; comitantibus C.
4. determinatur B. 5. omnia *deest* B. 7. absolventem B. 10, 11. memorativus infra C. 12. sibi *deest* A. 14. et *deest* B; *ib.* proniora A.
18. quod *pro* ut AC. 20. igitur C. 23. aliam AC. 25. huius legis C.
26. Nota *in marg.* A. 31. obsequia C. 32. persequentur A. 33. sic *deest* A. 35. cognoscerent C.

11. Some Catholic catechisms admit the necessity of giving the 'aggravating circumstances': which is, I believe, denied by many theologians; but all say that a sin forgotten is a sin forgiven.

- impedit se et suos; et sic statuens implicite ut cognoscant ista, implicat in contradiccionem more diaboli scolam suam. Similiter prelati ligantur precipue vinculis diaboli, et sunt expertes potestatis clavium. Quomodo
 5 ergo statueret papa legem, quod subditi a talibus absolvantur? Omnia enim talia statuta tacite includunt
 51^b blasphemiam, | quia auctor eorum dicit se posse in contradictoria, supra deum. Quomodo ergo obligaret me ut confitear prelato, qui est plenus discipulus anticristi?
 10 Item, non sciunt aut nolunt in propria persona servare legem predictam, cum vix unquam vere peniteant, dicente decreto sub auctoritate Crisostomi de penitencia dist. 1^a "Quis aliquando vidit clericum cito penitenciam agentem? Et si deprehensus humiliaverit se, non ideo
 15 dolet quia peccavit, sed confunditur quia perdidit gloriam suam." Notemus ergo omnes prelatos symoniacos in penitencia induratos, et consideremus ex fide quod non prodest, sed obest sic talibus confiteri. Et patet quod lex predicta cum facto auctoris reddidit subiectos
 20 perplexos. Non enim est vera penitencia, ut patet ex dictis sanctorum, dum confitens recidivat, vel ad minimum
 F. dum confitens non conteritur. Cum ergo hoc sit solius dei concedere, videtur quod ordinans talem legem ut quilibet sic confiteatur, nedum blasfemat, sed extol-
 25 litur super omne quod dicitur deus, negociando de populo: blasphemum itaque est quemquam non deum statuere ut aliquis vere confiteatur. Esset ergo bonum, quod sic presumens de propria blasfemia conteratur et curreret lex Cristi de penitencia, sicut olim.
 30 Item, tam ex parte insufficiencie, quam ex parte infundabilis oneris sacerdotis, videtur quod auricularis confessio sit temere introducta. Nam sacerdos nescit discrete aptare penitenciam ad delictum, nec limitare medicinalem penitenciam ad cavendum culpam hominis
 35 in futurum: sed iuxta decretalem predictam, hoc requiritur ad discrecionem sacerdotis; ergo ex defectu sacerdotis ydonei est lex predicta irrationalis. Assumptum videtur ex hoc quod, cum delictum sit commissum in deum, omnis pena quam peccator posset hic sufferre

confess, for the Pope cannot make them know what is and what is not sin.

The faithful cannot be forced to confess to Antichrist's disciples.

They themselves ignore or disobey the law: Chrysostom alludes to the infrequency of penance in the clergy.

It is of no use, and is even hurtful, to confess to a simoniacal priest.

And unless the penitent never falls again (which God alone can know) this confession is no true penance.

The law is therefore blasphemous.

Christ's doctrine of penance should be reverted to.

The priest is besides excessively burdened by this unreasonable law.

No penance can be sufficient to punish an offence against God.

5. igitur C. 6. *In marg.*: In nomine domini A. 10. volunt B.
 16. igitur C. 22. revertitur AB. 25. quo A; *ib.* deus deest A. 28. sua
pro de B. 31. omnis. *corr. in marg.* oneris C; *ib.* au'icla'rs = auricularis AC. 36. igitur C. 39. sufficere AB.

God's mercy
accepts any
penance, there
is no necessity
for the priest
to be prudent.
Some lose their
souls for want of
penance, a want
that no man
can estimate.
For the same
sin, different
priests
command
different
penances;
it follows that
one or the other
must err, or all
of them;

for it is not
just that two
men should be
punished
differently for
the same sin.

To say that
any penance is
sufficient,
because the rest
will be done in
Purgatory, puts
the least and the
most intelligent
priest on the
same level;
besides, on
account of the
penance
wrongly
imposed, the
penitent may

foret nimis modica, cum propter contemptum terreni
regis inferunt legitime gravem mortem. Nec valet dicere
quod misericordia dei supplet et acceptat quamcunque
penitentiam quam sacerdos iniunxit. Primo, quia tunc
ad hoc non requiritur discrecio sacerdotis, quod est 5
contra legem predictam; 2^o quia, cum deus multis non
miseretur ad eorum salutem propter parvitatem attri-
cionis et penitencie, nec subiaceret humane noticie taxare
proportionem istorum ad voluntatem dei. Nam videtur
quod temerarium sit sacerdotem de talibus sibi in- 10
cognitis iudicare. Tercio, quia diversi sacerdotes diversos
gradus penitencie pro eodem peccato iniungunt; sicut
quondam iniungebatur penitencia de culpa pro minori
peccato, ut patet de penitencia. Oportet igitur quod
aliquis vel singulus talis confessor erret in penitentiam 15
iniungendo. Cum enim penitencie sint opposite, impli-
cantes contradiccionem, oportet quod aliqua deo displi-
ceat; quia aliter contradictoria placerent deo: ut, quod
isti peccatori iniungatur tanta penitencia, et non amplior.
Sicut ergo iustum est secundum taxationem divinam, 20
quod peccator subeat tantam penam diu antequam
sacerdos absolverit; sic eque iustum est, postquam
penitentiam iniunxerit, cum deus non mutat voluntatem
vel liberacionem iusticie propter opus errabile sacer-
dotis. Et ex isto videtur quod, sacerdotibus variantibus in 25
penitencia eiusdem pro eodem peccato, alter eorum
erraret, vel uterque; cum non sit fingenda ratio quare
iustum esset Petrum iniungere Paulo tantam penitentiam
et Linum iniungere sibi tam variam, maiorem aut minorem,
pro eodem crimine. Oportet igitur quod alter eorum erret 30
a iusticia voluntatis divine; nec est ratio, quin uterque.
Nec valet secunda ficcio, quod sufficit ad delecionem G.
peccati per sacramentum penitencie cuiuscunque pene
iniunccio, cum homo solvet residuum pene in purga-
torio; quia sic sacerdos stultissimus posset eque iuste 35
penitentiam iniungere, cum iusticie domini tam varie
maius et minus susciperent. Item, ex tali dubio, ex in-
discreta iniunccione penitencie confessus tuus dampna-
bitur et nunquam veniet ad purgatorium; ergo iniunccio
fatua. Sicut enim confessor ex prudencia et caritate 40
potest mereri confesso suo beatitudinem, ita ex stulticia

9. divinam pro dei nam AC. 11. diversos deest C. 14. after
penitencia, a gap C. 19. pena B. 20. igitur C. 21. penam deest A.
27. sint A. 37. duo B. 39. igitur.

And they
therefore give
out that any
penance is
enough.
Either the
Canons were,
or the priests
are wrong.
If the priests of
old were able
to apply
penances
with, prudence
the same ought
now to be done.

The reason the
old laws are
not followed is
not because
priests are able
to do without
them, or
wanting in
authority or
knowledge; but
that they are
worldly, and
prefer imposing
fines to any
other penance.
As for penance
as a cure for
the soul, it
exists no
longer; the
prelates &c.
ought to be
hung for the
harm they do
to souls (as bad
physicians, to
bodies);
and the Church
should keep a
strict watch
over the
medicines that
they give.

This law is
besides
suspected of
heresy; because
it requires the
penitent to be
alone, which
excludes public
penance, and
the use of an
interpreter, and
(blasphemy!)
the presence
and aid of God.

ut satis est de quacunque penitencia quam ipsi voluerint arbitrari; et tamen, vel sequitur quod antique penitencie fuerunt colecte improvide, vel temere sunt dimisse. Nam in multis esset hodie tam necessarium iniungere gravem penitenciam ut tunc erat, et aptare 5 peccatis manifestis penitenciam regulariter collectam, ut tunc fecerant. Nec est ratio quod taxantes illam penitenciam sciverunt proporcionare illam ad fortitudinem persone, ad longevitatem vite, ad conformitatem voluntatis divine, quin per idem et modo scirent; quia aliter forent 10 penitenciarum nimis stulti.

Nec valet dicere quod ideo non dant hodie regulas sicut olim, quia sacerdotes sunt hodie discretiores arbitrii, vel deficit eis auctoritas, vel sciencia taxandi: et sic de aliis ficticiis. Quin potius sunt dediti circa 15 mundum, et negligunt ac nesciunt talia statuere vel discere; quia tunc convinceretur eorum ignorancia, et destrueretur eorum penitencia pecuniaria, qua taxant subditos nunc ad votum. Et quantum ad artem aptandi medicinam de cavendo peccatum in futurum, patet quod 20 ex toto periit. Et tamen, supposita tanta necessitate eius, ut modo fingitur, prelati et penitenciarum proditores pessimi suspendendi. Si enim medicus corporalis ex negligencia artis occideret magnatem vel simplicem, ipse foret apud deum et homines dignus morte. Quanto 25 magis, cum quis obligat se habere artem et medicinas salvandi animas, et tamen propter stulticiam suam dampnantur perpetuo! Illam igitur medicinam debet ecclesia examinare assidue, cum nova ingrediencia nimis sophisticantur hodie; et sic periculum et temeritas 30 sacerdotis cogerent examinare istam materiam et excutere falsitatem putridam coram deo.

Item, videtur legem predictam et novitates adiectas esse suspectas de heresi propter multa. Primo, quia statuit quod omnis fidelis discretus debet confiteri solus 35 omnia peccata sua semel in anno proprio sacerdoti. Stat enim hominem confiteri in penitencia multorum, et per interpretem, multis audientibus atque iuvantibus: ergo non est ratio nec ad necessitatem salutis requisicio

1. quod C. 3. colecte C. 5. tam gravem B. 6. matris pro manifestis omnes MSS. 8. proportionaliter A. 9. longitudinem B. 10. quando pro quin C; ib. alter A. 15. quando C. 23. suspendendi A. 26. medicinam C. 27. cum C; ib. suam deest C. 28. dampnatur omnes MSS. 29. nova deest A. 31-33. examinare — predictam deest A. 31. extrudere C. 39. igitur C.

oh. quod confiteatur sic solus, cum oportet deum inspirando
 1,32 assistere. Ipse autem excludit solitudinem in Cristo
 1. ut patet Joh. Et confirmatur eo quod blasphemum est

dicere quod solus confitens facit opus. Si dicatur quod
 5 intelligitur quod confitens sit solus vel sola quantum
 ad audicionem vel noticiam, patet quod hoc non oportet;
 quia, multis noscentibus culpam vel tunc vel ante, non
 minus (ceteris paribus) stat remissio aput deum. Quis,
 inquam, dubitat quin ignorante utraque persona stat
 10 multos latenter audire confessionem que non minus eo
 erit valida confessio? nec est talis confessio magis meri-
 toria quam illa publica et gloriosa confessio latronis,
 Luke 23. Nos, inquit, iuste, nam digna factis recipimus:

hic vero nichil mali gessit. Et dicebat ad Jesum: Domine,
 15 memento mei, cum veneris in regnum tuum. Et dixit illi
 Jesus: Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradiso.

Tam vero autenticam et solempnem confessionem auri-
 cularem nemo inveniet in scriptura. Similiter, illa soli-
 taria et infundabilis confessio dat occasionem effreni
 20 in voluptatibus abscondite volutandi. Nam, occasione
 istius legis, frequenter sacerdos intrat cum femina in
 cameras vel in alia loca abscondita et serata, et ibi
 instinctu diaboli perpetrant multa facinora; ut novit
 ecclesia. Ideo videtur melius statuuisse quod confiteatur

25 in ecclesia in multorum presencia. Unde sophiste dicunt
 26 Oxonie, quod lex ista solum pro hermofroditis sit valida,
 vel aliter ex ipsa sequitur conclusio incongrua, scilicet
 quod femina discreta debet confiteri sic solus. Sic enim
 dicunt quod hec locutio est falsa vel incongrua, *omnis*
 30 *homo est solus*. Nec videtur quod habet auctoritatem
 a scriptura, nisi forte dictum sapientis Ecclesiastis 4,
Ve soli.

Similiter hec adinvento excitat penitenciariorum ad
 depromendum peccata, et ut insontes postmodum pu-

It also implies
 that the
 confession is
 not valid, if
 overheard;
 which often
 happens
 without either
 penitent or
 priest knowing
 of it.

And no private
 confession can
 equal that of
 the good thief;
 which was
 public, not
 auricular; of
 which latter no
 mention is to
 be found in
 Scripture.

The privacy of
 confession, as is
 well known,
 also gives
 occasion to
 many sins of
 lust.

Solus cannot
 apply to a
 person of the
 feminine sex.

"Woe to him
 that is alone!"
 says Scripture.

Confessors are
 thereby urged
 to tell the sins of
 their penitents.

2. enim B; *ib.* sollicitudinem A. 5. sic C. 8. minis B. 11. con-
 fessio *deest* AC; *ib.* plus *pro* nec est talis confessio magis B; nec est
 talis privata B; *ib.* after talis, privata C; *ib.* magis *deest* A. 17. et *deest* B.
 22. abditā AC. 26. est BC. 28. sola A. 33. vel *pro* hec B.
 34. depromendum A; *ib.* per *corr.* in post C.

25. Such an order exists at present; confessions (at least of
 women) are never heard unless in church and in a confessional;
 in some countries this rule extends to all penitents. 28. *Solus*.
 This is a logical quibble, of which many examples are to be
 found in *Logica*, now publishing. If both sexes must confess,
 women must; but in order to be, according to the law, *solus*,
 she would require to be masculine.

It is in many cases lawful and right to do so; yet a most cruel law condemns to degradation and perpetual prison in a monastery him that reveals the secrets of confession; such a punishment could not be given even by God, much less by Antichrist. By the clause relating to confession *proprio sacerdote*, he is no longer the rector or curate;

but only the priest chosen by Rome.

No priest is allowed to confess another's penitent without the confessor's permission, unless in case of ignorance.

So now, instead of every Christian being free, as in Christ's time, to confess to any priest,

niantur. Nam nedum diabolus est pronus ad inclinandum facere tam irrationabiliter iniunctum, sed foret in casu ad honorem dei et utilitatem ecclesie depromere confessum, ut patet posterius. Et crudelitas legis patet 11 decretalium, ubi supra: ubi dicitur quod sacerdos confessionem detegens, non solum a sacerdotali officio deponatur, sed ad agendum perpetuam penitenciam in monasterio detrudatur. Et constituere tales penas pro tali transgressione videtur deo non posse competere; quanto magis non debet competere anticristo, licet extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus!

Quantum ad secundum verbum, quod debet confiteri *proprio sacerdote*, videtur suspectum, cum subiungit: "Si quis autem alieno sacerdote voluerit iusta de causa confiteri peccata, licenciam prius postulet et obtineat a proprio sacerdote, cum aliter ipse illum non posset solvere vel ligare." Hic patet restrictio ultra rationem que fuit in primitiva ecclesia. Unde, quamvis proprius sacerdos videatur esse curatus vel rector vel parochialis sacerdos, tamen hodie ad tantum variatus est terminus quod ille 20 censetur proprius sacerdos, quemcunque voluerit papa symoniace limitare. Sed Urbanus secundus, de penitencia dist. 2^a sic loquitur: "placuit, ut deinceps nulli sacerdotum liceat quemlibet comissum alteri sacerdote ad penitenciam suscipere sine eius consensu, cui se prius 25 comisit, nisi per ignoranciam illius cuius penitens prius confessus est." Sic igitur secundum variaciones temporis fiunt varia confessionis comercia, et multiplicantur adinventiones blasfemie. Cristus enim nescivit legem contrariam isti quod quicunque cristianus teneatur 30 libere confiteri cuicunque sacerdote quem sciverit vel probabiliter crediderit sanius consulere. Sed post *effeminati* tantum *dominantur eis* quod vendunt blasfeme animas, quia ducatum earum ad tarthara, sicut si quis venderet bovem aut asinum. Sed non est conveniens 35

1sa.
III, 4

2. ro na^m C. 5. 5^o BC. 8. Mo^m A; monasterium C. 14. autem deest B. 19. after curatus, ut corr. ex vel A. 20. est deest A. 23. 6^{ta} B. 26. pro B. 28. commercio B. 30. istam AC. 34. corum A; ib. tartha A; ib. sicut deest B; ib. si deest AC.

5. Decr. Greg. (as in note, p. 112). 17. We may note that, whatever may have been the custom in Wyclif's time, parish priests at present either give public leave to choose any confessor, or are understood to do so by their silence. This clause therefore, like many other canons of discipline, seems practically to have fallen into disuse. 23. Decr. Grat. De Penit. dist. VI, c. 3.

eorum testimonium, cum subiungit, quod volens ex iusta causa confiteri sacerdoti alteri licenciam postulet et obtineat, cum aliter alienus sacerdos non posset eum solvere vel ligare. Ecce misera captivatio laici, quem oportet contra ius poli petere et habere licenciam a sacerdote captivante, quantumcunque stultus et invidus fuerit, ad faciendum voluntatem dei, quia salutarem iusticiam! Talis, inquam, in maiori parte preficitur et ydonei presubtrahuntur. Quomodo ergo oportet petere licenciam a papa, ab episcopo vel curato, quando scitur quod lex Cristi licenciatur? Non est ratio, si non ut ficta obediencia faciat anticristi discipulos superbire.

he is obliged to beg leave, even when he has good reasons for wishing to go to another priest, or the latter has no jurisdiction!

Thus he must beg leave of a man to do what is allowed by Christ's law.

Similiter blasphemum et contrarium legi papali est quod sine sacerdotis proprii licencia alius non poterit datum subditum solvere vel ligare, quia sic episcopus non posset licenciare subditum ad confitendum alii discreto presbitero, nisi malivulus curatus consenciat. Sed, sicut non licet alieno tractare uxorem alterius, etiam licet ipse consenserit, ita videtur de ecclesia cui ydiota symoniace desponsatur. Unde dicunt satrape quod sicut papa potest licenciare spiritualem filiam vel uxorem tractari ab extero, invito curato sive marito, similiter deus habilitans et potestatem conferens cuicunque sacerdoti ad audiendum confessiones cuiuscunque alterius, eo ipso illud licenciatur. Si igitur papa vel quicunque alius hoc impedit, est manifeste Cristo contrarius. Grave itaque est in tam excellenti officio spiritui sancto resistere.

Besides, this is contrary to Church discipline; if the 'proper priest' alone can give jurisdiction to another, his Bishop has then no power to do so.

But if God confers the priesthood, He also confers on him the right to hear any confessions.

Sed tertium verbum sacerdotale, in quo ponitur vis totius sacramenti, est illud: *absolve te*, cuius fundacionem, sicut penitencie descripcionem, est difficile reperire; et blasphemum est reponere deo negligenciam vel ignoranciam quo ad illud, quin, sicut docuit formam verborum baptismi, sic doceret ecclesiam formam verborum sacramenti penitencie, si vellet illud sacramentum esse tam

The words "I absolve thee" are not to be found in Scripture; so either this sacrament is not so necessary as Baptism, or God was neglectful.

4. quem deest B. 6. \widehat{m} ndus = immundus C. 11. ut deest A.
21. vel uxorem deest B; in marg. erasum C. 22. curato sive deest AB;
sive deletum C. 28. fac^{le} AC. 29. absolvete A; absolve te C.
31. inponere deo C.

22. *Similiter* etc. I think some words must be wanting here, as Wyclif makes his adversaries say just what they absolutely deny. If, however, the reader ventures to transpose the order of the first words in the sentence thus: *Unde sicut dicunt satrape quod papa, etc.* — the sense is restored without supposing anything to be wanting.

necessarium ecclesie, ut modo fingitur. Sed sicut prelati cecantur in materia de quidditate eukaristie, sic cecantur in materia de quidditate penitencie. Forma igitur istorum verborum potest ex hoc inpugnari, quod apostoli non sunt usi secundum talem formam, *absolvere*. Et iterum est inductum blasfeme, ex errore sensus catholici, dicere quod presbiter sic absoluit. Sicut enim sacerdos dimittit vel remittit peccata populi, ita debet quilibet cristianus, ut patet Matth. 16 et Matth. 18. Et iterum incertum est penitenciariorum, si sit verum vel mendacium quod ipse absoluit penitentem. Et cum non debet mentiri pro toto mundo, videtur quod non debet sine revelacione | verbum illud ut sacramentale asserere. Sic enim ex sibi dubio imponderet deo auctorisationem mendacii. Quod autem ex sibi dubio hoc verbum sit falsum, patet tam ex parte penitentis, quam absolventis. Ex parte penitentis, cum ignorat si ipsemet sit contritus: et evidencius, qui absoluit. Absolvens autem, eciam sicut penitens, ignorat si in penam peccati finalis inpenitencie aliquod crimen dimiserit, vel ex aliqua alia negligencia ipse penituerit. Ex parte vero absolventis, ignoratur si sit prescitus vel membrum ecclesie; si sit hereticus ex symonia, quam defendit opere vel consensu; cum quot-quot similibus, ex quibus impediretur vera absolutio apud deum.

This form was not used by the Apostles: the words are besides wrong, as implying a power of forgiveness which all Christians exercise. And the Confessor, whilst uttering the words, does not know whether they are true. The penitent himself does not know if he is contrite; much more his confessor. He may have forgotten some crime through negligence;

he may be a castaway and no true member of the Church; or a heretic, &c.

It will not do to say that the absolution is conditioned, because then there would be no more certainty of pardon, and anybody could absolve in that way.

Matth.
XVI, 19;
XVIII, 18

53*

25

Nec valet dicere quod absolutio sit solum condicionata et quatenus deus acceptaverit; tum quia tolleretur certitudo absolucionis ab ipso confesso, cum scit, quod non sequitur: "Absolvo te, si deus voluerit," ergo, "absolvo te vel do tibi aliquod remedium spirituale;" tum eciam quia sic nedum sacerdos extraneus, sed eciam laicus posset a peccato quocunque absolvere. Unde tam sacerdos quam confitens notaret indisposicionem presbiteri absolventis, docente decreto de penitencia dist. 6^a ex

2, 3. eukaristie — quidditate *deest* C. 5. nisi AB. 9. 6^{to} B; *ib.* 8 C; *ib.* Et *deest* B. 15. fit A. 17. si A. 18. eciam *deest* A. 19. penitenciam AB. 27. *zh¹gts* (= et si in quatenus) A; si et *qtus* C. 29. igitur C. 34. dicentis docente A.

10. *Verum vel mendacium*. We should note that the formula of absolution contains the restriction: *in quantum possum et tu indiges*. 27, 28. *Certitudo*. What Wyclif supposes absolution should give is absolute certitude of forgiveness; which is a very rare thing indeed. St. Bernard used to apply this passage to himself: *nescit homo utrum amore an odio dignus sit*. 34. Decr. Grat. De Penit. D. VI, c. 1.

testimonio Augustini: "Qui vult confiteri peccata sua, ut inveniatur gratiam, querat sacerdotem scientem solvere et ligare, ne cum negligens circa se extiterit, negligatur M. a deo." Et sequitur "Quicumque confitetur omnino confiteatur sacerdoti meliori quem potest habere". "Non petat," inquit, "sacerdotes per aliquam culpam ab unitate ecclesie divisos; Judas enim qui penitens ivit ad phariseos, relinquens apostolos, nichil invenit auxilii, nisi augmentum desperationis. Dixerunt enim: *quid ad nos? tu videris*". Ita declarat sanctus esse de sacerdotibus absolventibus qui symonia vel aliquo crimine sunt fedati. Et forte a summo pontifice usque ad infimum fratrem, omnes sunt symoniaci voluntate, opere vel consensu; et artem medendi ignorant, et per consequens carent clavium potestate. Et in talibus casibus, secundum doctrinam Augustini (ibidem) debet homo confiteri fidei laico, dimissis sacerdotibus sic suspectis; quia, si non secuntur Cristum in moribus et pretendunt se esse eius vicarios, habentes potestatem mediandi inter deum et populum, 20 nulli sunt magis extranei a sacerdotali potestate vel vero nomine sacerdotis.

Et patet quod error accidit in ministerio ecclesiasticorum ex defectu ordinatorum, ex defectu ordinariorum et suorum officiariorum, et utrumque. Ex errore ordinariorum, qui ignorantes legem et ordinationem Christi ab ipsa exorbitant. Unde 25^a, q. Ult. sub auctoritate Leonis pape sic scribitur. "Si qui episcopi talem consecraverint sacerdotem qualem esse non liceat, etiam si aliquo modo dampnum proprii honoris evaserint, 30 ordinationis ius amplius non habebunt. Nec umquam eidem sacramento intersint, quod, neglecto divino iudicio, inmerito prestiterunt generaliter: veluti dum civitati episcopalis dignitas perpetuo subtrahitur, que suos episcopos interimere consuevit." Ex ista lege papali, 35 preponderantiori multis evangelium observatis, patet primo quod nullus episcopus debet ordinare quemquam presbiterum, nisi habuerit revelacionem vel evidentem noticiam, per strictam examinacionem tam in moribus per testificacionem quam in noticia fidei per prudentem

And the qualities of the confessor are also to be remarked: Augustine says that we must not confess to a priest separated from the Church, or tainted by simony.

And it may well be that from the Pope downwards, all priests are in such a case; we ought then to prefer to confess to one of the faithful laity.

Priests may be wrongly ordained through the fault of the Ordinaries and their officials, of the candidates, or of both. By Canon law any Bishop, ordaining to the priesthood one that is not worthy, should no longer ordain.

Therefore no Bishop can ordain, unless the worthiness of the priest is evident to him.

3. tamen C; *ib.* se deest A. 4. qui ergo B; qui igitur C; *ib.* animo A.
7. diversos A. 13. volente A; *ib.* consensum A. 28. sacerdotio B.
30. ulterius C. 33. qui A. 37. habeat C. 38. tam deest A.

opinionem; quia ordinando inhabiles perdunt ius quemquam ulterius ordinandi.

Priests, if their Bishop have no power to ordain them, are mere laymen; it were therefore better if there were none such, as the sacraments which they dispense are worthless.

The same is true of any Church dignitary ordained by the Pope, if incapable;

and their ordination is an act of perversity.

As spiritual is worse than bodily homicide, any King or community perverting Bishops by endowments deserves to have none.

The like holds good of any archdeacons, deans or officials instituted by the prelates for the sake of lucre: the Church ought to be purified of all such, and also of all rulers who draw the clergy to their own service.

The law obliging all to confess once a year is unjust;

Et patet quod presbiteri ex defectu potestatis episcopi sunt, ut prius, laici; nisi forte deus ex gracia nobis ignota ante evidenciam operis virtuosi suppleat. Nec oportet timere de defectu numeri sacerdotum, quia melius esset habere paucos vel nullos huiusmodi quam quantumcunque multitudinem onerosam, cum non in illis vel sacramentis eorum consistat salus populi. Patet secundo quod, si papa ordinet ineptum episcopum vel quemcunque ecclesie officiarium, incidit in idem periculum; tum quia papa est episcopus, et sui episcopi sacerdotes; tum etiam quia forcior est ratio in superiori prelato et subiecto diligencius ordinando. Et patet de papis quod sunt discoli, ordinando pseudo-cardinales et pseudo-episcopos. Ideo, nisi affuerit potestas episcopi animarum, olim fuisset vinea Cristi sicut Sodoma et Gomora. Et patet tercio, quomodo civitates multe, sicut et prelati, merentur carere suis episcopis et subiectis. Maius est enim spiritualiter occidere corpus prelati vel animam, quam corporaliter corpus occidere, cum hoc potest esse meritorium utrobique, sed propter occisionem corporalem communitas prelato privabitur; igitur evidencius propter aliquam maiorem. Et per consequens rex vel comunitas, dotando suum episcopum qui exhinc dissipaverit legem Cristi, meretur prelato vero destitui, cum deus iustissime illud facit. Et utinam comunitates usque ad non gradum ex ista lege privarentur prelatis cesareis! Et pari evidencia carerent episcopi et archidiaconi officialibus et decanis, cum aliis ministris, principaliter pro questu temporalium introductis; et purgaretur ecclesie Cristi a fecibus, posita in ordinatione Cristi primeva. Et idem est iudicium de rege vel domino, episcopum vel curatum dei servicio proditorie distrahente, et in perdicionem regni celorum suo servicio mancipante. Et patet irrationabilitas legis "Omnis utriusque sexus" iuxta sententiam rationis secunde.

Ex istis colligitur quod homo extolleretur super omne quod dicitur deus, qui pro lege statueret quod deficiens

1. oppositionem A. 15. qui A; quot B. 16. non pro nisi AB.
17. vera A. 18. quasi B; *ib.* quod AC. 21. corporis A; *ib.* carnaliter BC. 23. occasionem C; *ib.* carnalem C. 31. ministeriis AB.
34. domino deest C. 35. distrahentem omnes MSS.; *ib.* regis B.

sic confiteri semel in anno, eo ipso taliter puniatur; tum quia ex lege dei non sit fundabile, nec deus requirit talem coercionem, ut insons (sicut fuit beata virgo) vel alius per annum cavens a crimine taliter sit confessus. Ymmo, sicut obediencia facta deo sufficit ad salutem sine obediencia humanitus adinventā, sic videtur de confessione dum caret fructu fundabili necessario ad salutem, sine obediencia humanitus adinventā; Ymmo, per idem posset statui quod confitens solvat annuatim confessori suo pecuniam aut sibi equivalens plus vel minus. Sic enim non minus laborat meridiana seduccio. In cuius evidenciam tolle lucrum, oblacionem decimarum, et questum qui ex confessione insurgeret, et confessio non curatur. Ideo videtur quod pater mendacii adinvenit hos modos nephandos ad sacerdocium invisandum, cum undique melius exhortacione publica subiectis proficerent.

Unde glosari posset lex predicta: quod omnis homo debet confiteri deo continue (qui est sacerdos proprius cuiusque) et de quanto confessio ex maiori caritativa penitencia fuerit sive generalior sive particularior, de tanto est melior. Sed verisimile est quod declinantes in obligationes ad traditiones accidentales que fastum et questum sapiunt, fuerunt remoti ab ista sententia. Ideo videtur melius fidelem exuere duplicitatem et oleum adulacionis, et pure secundum legem Cristi levem et mundam fideles instruere. Nec iustificat legem predictam quod in ipsa multa bona et rationabilia sunt comixta; quia sic est in mandatis et tota vita diaboli, cum deus non aliter ipsum permetteret sic regnare. Lex autem cristiana debet esse solum *lex domini immaculata convertens animas*, et per consequens recusari debet a cunctis fidelibus propter comixcionem cuiuscunque atomi anticristi.

it is not founded on Holy Writ; and God does not require that an innocent person should confess. Obedience to God suffices; obedience to a human law is superfluous.

And as the effect of the law is to give profits to the clergy, it might as well be enacted that all the faithful should pay so much a year.

The law might be explained thus: all men must continually confess to God, who is then proper Priest; but this was probably not what was originally meant.

So it is better not to exercise duplicity, but follow and teach the pure law of Christ.

There is good mixed with evil in this Church canon, but only Christ's law is immaculate.

8. sive A; sine obia A. 6-8. sic — salutem twice B. 18. gloriari A.
20, 21. penitencia — sive deest A. 21. principalior C. 33. actomi AC.

4. It is a tradition to be found in Catholic mystical works, that the B. V. Mary, after the Church was founded, used to confess and take Holy Communion every day. This practice is also recommended to priests in several religious orders.
23. *Verisimile* is a very mild expression indeed.

CAPITULUM NONUM.

The necessity of confession to a priest examined. Habita invaliditate legis predicte, licet faciat multa A. bona, superest rimari alia testimonia, quod necesse est confiteri presbitero. Recitat enim glossa ordinaria super principio dist. 5^o in de penitentiis 5. opiniones in ista materia.

Some say this sacrament was instituted after Adam's sin; but no priest was there. Prima dicit quod institutum fuit sacramentum penitencie et iniuncta vocalis confessio sacerdoti statim in paradiso post peccatum, dicente domino ad Adam, gen. 3^o, *Ubi es?* quasi diceret: "penitens, considera statum tuum!" Sed illud non moneret, nisi ad penitenciam mentis domino revelandam, cum non fuit tunc supra Adam sacerdos aliquis preter deum. Secunda via dicit quod confessio cepit a Caym fratricida, quando, gen. 4^o, dixit dominus ad eum: *Ubi est Abel frater tuus?* Sed tunc sacramentum haberet malam et inanem originem; nec innueret nisi confessionem fiendam deo. 3^a dicit quod incepit tempore legis date Josue 7^o, quando Josue dixit Achan: *da, inquit, gloriam deo et confitere michi quid feceris.* Sed istud videtur concludere quod penitencia publica sit populo facienda. 4^a via dicit quod penitencia cepit tempore legis gracie, dicente Jacobo 5^o. *Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra, et orate pro invicem ut salvemini.* Sed illud non videtur sonare nisi in confessionem generalem reciproce fiendam a populo. 5^a opinio glossantis est quod melius dicitur confessionem institutam a quadam universalis ecclesie tradicionem, potius quam ex scripture auctoritate; et illa est obligatoria ut mandatum. Sed videtur quod deus non dedit hoc mandatum in lege completissima quod

Others that it was after the sin of Cain; which opinion implies that the first confession was a bad one. Others make it begin with Achan's confession; this supposes public penance. Others quote St. James, who advises only a general confession. The last opinion derives it rather from tradition than Scripture; in which case it would not be binding.

1. Cap. *deest omnes MSS.* 2. *Initial H in red ink C.* 3. bona *deest AB.* 11. movet B. 15. deus dixit B. 18. Yozue C. 19. Achor A; Achar C. 25. in *pro* a A. 27. universalis *deest AB.* 29. obligata A; *ib.* ut mandant A. 30. debet A.

5. Decr. Grat. De Penit. D. V, c. 1.

non obligat christianum. Item, ecclesia etiam triumphans
 nichil precipit nisi auctoritate sponsi Christi; et per
 consequens, si traditio ecclesie sit licita, potissime fieret
 auctoritate scripture, que est verbum domini; nec videtur
 5 ecclesiam universalem istud statuuisse, nisi secundum
 parvam partem vocate ecclesie. Ymmo religiosius vivit
 ecclesia, antequam introducta fuit ista consuetudo de
 confessione privata fienda proprio sacerdoti; ymmo, cum
 ecclesia instituit multa mala que religionem Christi
 10 debilitant, videtur nimis levis evidencia, si ecclesia
 illud instituit, ergo bene. Instituit multas leges de
 14^a dotacione ecclesie quas fuisset melius non fuisse; et
 multas bonas leges instituit de prelati et clericis, et
 ille in contemptum domini dei sunt plurimum suspense.
 15 Ideo oportet rimari aliud fundamentum quam consue-
 tudinem ecclesie. Item, talis confessio adinventat dat
 occasionem presbitero symoniace perquirendi pecuniam;
 quod foret malum periculum. Et consequencia patet, eo
 quod sophisticari potest ex iniunctione penitencie quod
 20 pecunia sit sic lucrativa presbitero, ut patet ex experientia
 comuni; ymmo sic posset sacerdos, subiciendo sibi totum
 populum, subvertere legem Christi. Cum ergo caret fun-
 damento dei, ut alia mandata, licet contempnere:
 videtur quod superfluit ista statuere. Et ad hoc vadunt
 25 rationes facte superius. Sequitur enim: non fundatur
 in scriptura; ergo non est verum vel credendum.

Videtur itaque quod oris confessio sit de lege nature,
 supposita fide. Nam naturale est omne animal inniti
 iuvamini, si indigeat; sed maxima indigencia animali
 30 rationali peccanti foret liberari a peccato: ergo debet
 inniti iuvamini, illo supposito. Et cum impossibile sit
 liberari a peccato, nisi mediante confessione, patet quod
 omnis criminosus debet de lege nature humiliter con-
 fiteri. Assumptum patet ex hoc quod corpora inanimata
 35 iuvantur a suis potestatibus, tam agendo quam resistendo;
 et evidencius de lege nature patet illud de homine.
 Nam homo persecutus fugit naturaliter ad locum refugii,
 sicut naturaliter exponit manum pro capite; quia, cum

Even the Church
 triumphant
 commands but
 by Christ's
 authority; such
 a tradition
 could not else
 be lawful.
 Only a small
 part of the
 whole Church
 has made this
 a law;
 and before it
 existed, things
 went better.

Many bad laws
 have been made
 by the Church,
 and many good
 ones allowed to
 fall into disuse.

This confession
 besides gives
 occasion to
 much
 simoniacal
 extortion.

It ought
 therefore to be
 considered as
 superfluous.

Yet vocal
 confession
 belongs to the
 law of nature,
 if we admit
 revelation.
 The greatest
 need of man is
 to be delivered
 from sin; now
 this implies
 vocal
 confession, as
 a necessary
 means thereto.

Every natural
 want supposes
 recourse to the
 means of
 satisfying it.

1. It'm C; 2b. triumphans etiam C. 2. scripture sponsi B. 6. vici^a A.
 11. enim BC. 14. domini deest BC. 16. diligenter inquire in marg. A.
 18. eo deest AC. 19. h'rich o dron g^e r'rc i'ty'n rc' in marg. probably
 abbreviated Bohemian words A. 21. a gap after sacerdos A. 23. ac
 pro ut B. 24. idem pro hoc B. 26. igitur C; 2b. verum deest BC.
 27. probans quod quis naturaliter debet confiteri in marg. B. 31. cum
 deest B. 35. partibus AC.

But sin,
separating man
from God, is
infinitely worse
than its
punishment;

for the
blindness
ensuing there-
from causes us
to make small
account of
virtue and
holiness.

God alone frees
from sin; and
He does not,
unless the
sinner makes
an effort: which
is penance,
according to the
Fathers.

It follows that
vocal confession
of one to
another is
necessary, since
as any man
ought to help
his brother in
bodily danger,
he ought to do
so in spiritual
peril too.

omnis substantia appetit naturaliter esse, necesse est
ut appetat media necessaria ipsi esse. Et secunda pro-
positio patet ex fide, cum peccatum, dividens hominem
a deo, sit maxime deo odibile; in tantum quod per
peccatum fit homo infinitum peior quam bestia vel
aliquod malum pene vel aliud pure malum pro ma-
licia pene. Nam iusticia dei infinitum plus per se
punit pro crimine, quam punit bestiam vel aliud pure
pro malicia pene. Ideo omnis pene est deus auctor,
sed non culpe. Et patet quod infinitum plus et optacius
foret hominem liberari a crimine, quam a pena; quia
in priori stat perpetua salvacio tam corporis quam
anime. Sed secundum non respicit tale nisi per accidens.
Et patet quod discrasia et cecitas ex peccato faciunt
quod tantum parvipendimus virtutum mundicias et pur-
gacionem a crimine. Et quantum ad terciam proposi-
cionem, patet quod nemo mundatur a crimine nisi per
deum; nec deus iuvat nolentem aut invitum ad graci-
am.

Ideo necesse est quod iustificando de peccato displiceat,
et auxilium in mente a deo postulet. Et hoc est penitere: 20
ut patet de penitencia dist. 3^a, ex auctoritate Ambrosii,
Augustini, et Gregorii.

Et hec ratio quare peccatores secundum scripturam
nedum in mente penitent, sed in vocem prorumpunt,
petentes auxilium a deo. Et ex eadem lege patet, licet
non ex tanta inclinacione nature, quod peccator debet
confiteri fratri suo. Nam naturale [est] secundum fidem
communione sanctorum, quod unumquodque membrum
ecclesie iuvet aliud quo ad salutem anime consequendam.
Ideo, sicut est naturale hominem inniti adiutorio alterius
in periculo corporali, sic evidencius est hominem inniti
suffragio alterius in periculo anime criminalis. Et sicut
natura movet ad antecedens, sic ad consequens; ut
videlicet apriori modo infirmus petat fratris sui suffra-
gium, detegendo sibi morbum spirituale cum eius

3. \widehat{ho} (= hominem) A. 7, 8. vel aliud — pene *deest* AB. 10. quod
deest B; *ib.* optacius A; optacius B. 15. *puipēdig* A. 19. nota quid
est penitere *in marg.* B; *ib.* iustificandus B. 24. voce C. 27. *Nā nāle*
f. m A; *ib.* est *deest omnes MSS.* 28. unumquidque A; unum quod
que C. 31. hominem *deest* C. 32. alterius *deest* C. 34. valet pro
videlicet A; *ib.* peccat A.

circumstanciis, ut medicinam et suffragium meriti apcius
consequatur.

Unde de tempore ante legem fiebat communiter confessio
soli deo, 2^o tempore legis fiebat communiter confessio
5 deo et homini; deo omnino, quia impossibile est quod
sine illo facta confessio homini valeat. Unde coram
populo, coram prelato et coram sacerdotibus fiebat
publice talis confessio. Coram populo et coram principe

Jos. VII, 19 populi: patet Josue 7^o, de Achor, facinus suum pub-
lice Josue et populo confitenti. Et nota quod Josue
non fuit sacerdos vel de tribu Levi, ut deduxi alias ex
scriptura; ut patet in decretis. Et patet quod lex dei
mandat ut confiteri publice principi et eius populo coram

Lev. XIII, XIV passim
Luc. XVII, 14 sacerdotibus: patet Leviticus, 13 et 14^o, de leprosis. Et
meminit Cristis Luc. 17. *Ite, inquit, et ostendite vos sacer-*
dotibus. Et illa confessio ac eius iudicium debuerunt

fieri publice, sine tali auriculacione; ymmo semel in
anno debuit populus in summo sacerdote publice con-
fiteri et crimina imprecata capiti hirci emissarii in
desertum ipsum emittere, ut patet Levit. 16

In novo vero testamento, quo apparuit gracia salva-
toris, fuit diu confessio facta deo et domino Jesu Cristo
tanquam capiti, sine hoc quod fiebat privatim homini:

ut patet de conversione Petri et Pauli, et fidelium in
25 primitiva ecclesia conversorum; ut patet Matth. 26;
Acta 2^o, 3^o, 4^o, 5^o et 9^o; ubi patet quod dicti apostoli
et multa milia post peccata gravissima sine tali con-
fessione privata sunt conversa ad dominum. Unde de-

Act. II, 38 cretum de penitencia, dist. prima: *Magna pietas; Petrus in*
actibus apostolorum legitur dixisse penitentiam agite et
baptizetur unusquisque vestrum; quod de interiori peni-

54^a tencia, non exteriori, dictum accipitur. Item Ambrosius
super isto Luce 23^o, ubi dicitur quod Petrus post nega-
cionem Cristi *flevit amare*, "lacrimae," inquit, "lavant
35 delictum quod voce pudor est confiteri: lacrimas petri

For this reason,
vocal confession
was always
made to God,
but under the
Old Law, both
to God and
man;

as in the case
of Achan
confessing to
Joshua, who
was neither
priest nor
levite; and in cases of
leprosy;

and also once
a year, when
the High Priest
chased the
scapegoat into
the wilderness.

Under the New
Law,
confessions
were first made
to God and
Jesus Christ,
but there was
no private
confession to
men; as appears from
Scripture,

and especially
from the
penitential
tears of Peter.

3. communiter deest B. 4. soli — confessio deest C. 8. illa
pro illo BC. 7. et deest A. 9, 10. Yozue C. 11. dixi A; ib. in
15. C. 12. after decretis, a blank space A; ib. Et pro ut A.
16. ite (sic) C. 18. in deest B; ib. sacerdoti B. 22. Cristo deest BC.
23. privatim C. 26. 5^a deest BC. 33. 22^o BC.

18. In summo. I have preferred this reading, taking it to
mean: in the person of. 31. Decr. Grat. De Poenitentia,
dist. 1, c. 5.

lego, satisfaccionem non lego". Et idem ascribitur Crisostomo de penitencia, dist. 1. *Lavat.*

Afterwards, when the Holy Spirit no longer visibly assisted the Church, it became necessary to consult holy priests in confession; but this was long before the time of the Lateran Council, and was done freely.

Ex post, inquam, quando defecerunt miracula et spiritus sancti accepcio in signo sensibili, necessitata fuit ecclesia ex religione legis nature sacerdotes sanctos 5 consulere confitendo; ut patet tempore Augustini, et diu post. Unde lex predicta, quam dicitur Innocencius tercius D. constituisse in Lateranensi consilio, fuit per multos centenos annorum post Augustinum. Et ita confessio que debuit esse summe voluntaria, perversa est ex arte 10 principis huius mundi in exaccionem servilem; ut vel sic pateat luciferina potencia in papa, nedum seducendo vel captivando corpora, sed animas subditorum.

There are therefore three sorts of penance: one made to God alone,

with true fruits of repentance

and emendation of life, which is necessary for salvation;

another made to a man, in order to receive a spiritual remedy, which proceeds from the law of nature,

Et ita est triplex penitencia sive confessio peccatoris: prima est devote facta deo, quam Cristus precipit, 15 Matth. 3^o. Et Baptista cum eodem themate exorsus est: *penitentiam, inquit, agite; appropinquat enim regnum celorum.* Et Matth. 3^o precipit phariseis *facere dignos fructus penitencie.* Cum enim penitencia sit displicencia de priori vita mala cum sancto proposito convertendi, 20 patet quod sicut fructus arboris, herbe, vel terre est illud carius fruibile quod procedit de fructificante, sic fructus penitencie est virtus fruibilis et operacio virtuosa. Ideo dicunt sancti quod non sufficit displicere de malo preterito; sed cum emendacione vite oportet deo 25 satisfacere pro commisso, et niti per medelas scripture cavere posterius de lapsu. Isti ergo sunt digni fructus penitencie. Et istud oportet omnem peccatorem sub pena dampnacionis servare.

Matth. III, 2

Sed secunda penitencia et confessio fit recte homini 30 ad recipiendum ex parte dei spiritualement medicinam, criminis sanativam. Et de tali penitencia et confessione locuntur sancti doctores et leges ecclesie. Et illam dixi esse de lege nature, licet inclinacio in penam peccati plurimum sit sopita. Omnis enim lex dei est lex nature 35 prime et multe leges dei sunt leges nature secunde. Omnis vero lex iniqua vel rationi contraria est lex diaboli et lex vicii, non nature; quia autem alii restrin-

1. 2. Crisostomus A; *ib.* lavant B. 4. sensibili *deest* C. 7. Innocencium 3^m omnes MSS. 13. vel *pro* sed A. 22. fruibile A. 34. lex nature *in marg.* B. 37. ergo A. 38. Et *pro* quia autem A; Et quod alii C.

gunt legem nature per descriptiones infundabiles, est labor inutilis. Et ista confessio instituta est per deum ante legem datam Moysi, et roborata est per Cristum cum Joh. 20 dicat apostolis: *Accipite spiritum sanctum, et quorum remiseritis peccata remittuntur eis, et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt.* Superflue autem dedisset apostolis istam potenciam, nisi subditi eorum tenerentur rite E. confitendo peccata sua illis detegere. Ideo beatus Jacobus 5^o c. dicit communiter: *Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra.* Et notat Hugo, libro 2^o de sacramentis, parte 14^a, causam quare Cristus non dedit aliis preceptum confitendi peccata apostolis, sicut dedit eis potenciam remittendi. "Audi," inquit, "quare voluit Cristus ut a semetipso surgat confessio, ne quasi extorta vel coacta 15 videretur, cum egrorum sit diligenter salutem querere, et deum de sufficientibus medicis providere." Et hinc, ne contra legem nature cogatur populus adire imperitum medicum vel inertem, dicit Jacobus tam sacerdotibus quam secularibus in confuso quod *confiteantur alterutrum 20 peccata sua*, non quilibet cuilibet, sed quilibet alteri ydoneo.

In 3^o autem signo magi pharaonis defecerant, exigentes ut cuicunque voluerint limitare, ut audiat confessiones alterius secundum formam et tempus quod ipsi limitare voluerint, oporteat de necessitate salutis confiteri 25 taliter; ut patet in lege predicta. Et talem legem non reor Cristum posse statuuisse. Et illam terciam confessionem quam nescitur describere vocant quidam coactam; que, quamvis sit nude limitata humanitus, tamen tantam vim ponunt in ipsa, quod solum illa sit 30 sacramentum et nemo possit salvari, nisi ipsam acceperit secundum formam quam papa limitat. Et in ipsa sunt plena indulgentia et innominata carismata: sic tamen quod confessus faciat quidquid sacerdos mandaverit, licet fuerit summus hereticus et maximus ydiota. Sed isti 35 parum notant quomodo Cristus, antequam istam pote-

confirmed by Christ's institution, giving His apostles power to forgive sins; which power would be useless, unless they knew those sins by confession.

Hugo of St. Victor points out why Christ does not speak of confession; because He wished it to come spontaneously, not by force.

But the third sort is the sort referred to by the Lateran Decree;

and though merely human, it is exalted into a necessary instrument of salvation, and a source of endless indulgence and grace; provided only the priest be obeyed, whoever he may be.

4. Nota in marg. A. 11. causam deest B. 10. hugo in marg. B.
17. populus deest C. 18. inertem C. 20. sua deest C. 22. audiant C.
26. statuere BC.

8. It here appears that Wyclif, though most opposed to the canon "Omnis utriusque sexus", would go much farther than the very general advice to confess, given in the Book of Common Prayer. He says *tenerentur*, and admits an obligation in conscience to confess, not once a year, but as often as necessary. His difficulty is to find a priest not *prescitus*, and not actually in mortal sin. Cf. p. 140, l. 20.

Yet Christ
before he gave
this power to
the Apostles,
said: Receive
the Holy Ghost;
without that
gift, no priest
has power.

In such a
confession, it
may happen
that the
confessor shall
commit mortal
sin, and yet
the penitent be
absolved by
God;
or that the
penitent may
not be absolved,
for want of
contrition;

or that both
confessor and
penitent may
please God by
the confession.

As a rule,
unless the
parish priest is
reasonably
suspected of
grievous sin, a
parishioner
should confess
as often as he
needs it.

This is an
answer to all
allegations of
Canon law; and

Innocent's
decree is to be
set aside, partly
on account of
his secular
ambition, which
moved God to
give two poor
orders to His
Church.

But these turned
aside quickly;
and now they
think nothing of

statem dedit apostolis, dixit eis: *Accipite spiritum sanctum*, quasi doceret quod solum viris apostolicis, habentibus spiritum sanctum, conferat talem vicariam potestatem. Quicumque ergo antistes, romanus vel alius, non habuerit spiritum sanctum, sequendo Cristum iuste vivendo, sciat se esse alienum a vicaria potestate huiusmodi, sicut est alienus a numero eorum quibus hoc verbum domini fuit dictum.

Et patet quod peccator quandoque confitetur vocaliter presbitero in hoc peccanti mortaliter, licet ipse nichil indulgentie vel carismatis conferat confitenti, tamen deus cui confitetur contritus, dat gratiam et absolucionem a crimine. Et istud contingit communiter ratione criminis penitenciarum. 2^o contingit peccatorem fecte confiteri deo et cuicumque | sacerdote bono aut malo, et non absolvi propter defectum contricionis, sine qua non absolvitur a deo, et qua posita, a deo absolvitur eo ipso. Et 3^o contingit peccatorem absolvi a penitenciarum F. utroque promerente ex legitimo officio; et hoc raro hodie contingit, sicut contigit in ecclesia primitiva: cuius magna causa est sacerdotem cupiditas.

Et patet ex istis quod parochianus debet confiteri sacerdoti proprio quocienscunque egerit, dum modo non sit sibi probabiliter suspectus de symonia, de fornicacione vel alio crimine, propter quod debet scire sacerdotis comunicacionem magis sibi officere, quam prodesse. Et sic possunt intelligi omnes leges in oppositum allegande. Illa autem monstruosa lex "omnis utriusque sexus," que dicitur per Innocencium 3^m edita, quia non fundatur ex fide scripture, eadem facilitate con- tempnitur qua proditur. Et revera suspecta est lex ratione persone, que quia tamquam anticristus aspiravit ad summum gradum domini secularis necessitavit ut deus mitteret ad consolacionem ecclesie duos ordines paupertatis. Sed illi, quia non pure fundabantur in lege domini, sed nimis in tradicionibus humanis: ideo, cito relicto itinere Cristi, lapsi sunt late in devium anticristi. Jam enim qui negaverit fidem

4. igitur C. 6. vicario potestatis omnes MSS. 9. patet deest B.
10. et licet A. 13. contigit A. 14. contigit A. 18. contigit A.
20. contigit A; ib. before in contigit B. 31. probatur omnes MSS.
32. aspicerat B.

22. If the Lollards followed this rule of Wyclif, they must have counted amongst the most devout of the parish, in the eyes of many a priest.

- scripture tamquam summe hereticam censetur catholicus et subtilis. Sed qui negaverit tradiciones pape, licet fidei scripture contrarias, dampnatur et punitur tamquam hereticus; ut ubi Paulus fidem accepit a domino quam tradebat ecclesie, vocat regulariter sacramentum altaris, quo ad naturam suam, panem, ut patet Cor. 10 et 11^o: statuit sibi hec secta ex auctoritate huius capituli, quod quicumque vocaverit sacramentum illud in natura panem, et in figura corpus domini, tamquam hereticus iudicetur.
- 10 Sed debet vocari ex baptisatione eorum infundabili accidens de genere quantitatis. Et hii glosant fidem scripture, sanctos doctores, et leges ecclesie per suum contrarium. Et sicut fide secuntur Cristum in paupertate voluntaria; sic fingunt sibi tunicam in hostia, per
- 15 quam vident eum oculo corporali. Et illa tunica, ut inquiunt, est infinitum invalidior et abiectior quam vestis qua superinduimur. Et ubi Urbanus quintus, tante auctoritatis ut Innocentius III^{us}, dampnavit ut heresim asserentem quod homo videt corpus Cristi in
- 20 hostia oculo corporali, ut noverunt multi modo superstitēs: hii, contra decretum pape et libros proprios, clamant quod vident sic corpus Cristi in hostia; et, cum ipsa sit infinitum subtilior quam tela aranee (quia nullam habet opacitatem materie quam vident eius quantitas
- 25 vel qualitas), esse ibidem. Et hii infringunt auctoritatem pape, et faciunt quod quidquid dixerit preter fidem scripture sit propter suum dicere plus suspectum.
- G. Sed obicitur per hoc quod ad omne opus meritum viatoris potest ipse cogi, supposita desidia. Sed iuxta
- 30 dicta meritum est laico confiteri omnia peccata sua proprio sacerdoti; ergo ad hoc potest cogi. Sed per quem, nisi per papam, qui statuatur ad hoc legem? Sic enim coegit Cristus Paulum Act. 9, et precepit ministris tempore legis gracie ut intrarent ad cenam novissimam,
- 35 ut patet, Luce 14. Et idem confirmatur ex dictis beati Augustini epistola Et concordant multe leges, ut patet 23 q. 6, *Scismatici*; et alibi. Hic oportet videre super quibus cadit coaccio. Et constat iuxta philosophos,

denying God's word, and everything of withstanding Papal traditions: As in the case of the Eucharist. Here they condemn as a heretic any one calling it Christ's body in figure; yet they name it an accident, wresting Scripture, the Fathers and ecclesiastical law. They imagine a garment covering Christ in the Host, through which they see Him with the bodily eye (a doctrine condemned by Urban V); and this garment, thinner than a cobweb, is, they say, the indication of Christ's local presence there.

Objections (1). It is lawful to compel any one to do a good deed, if he be slothful: confession is allowed to be meritorious, and none but the Pope has power thus to compel. This doctrine is founded on Scripture, words of St. Augustine, and many canons.

7. statuunt AB. 17. superinduitur B; super deest C. 24. mediate A; ib. quam deest BC; ib. cuius BC. 25. est C. 30. sua deest BC. 31. igitur C. 34. ad deest B. 36. a blank space after epistola omnes MSS.

25. I think that *corpus Christi* ought to be understood after *qualitas*. 37. Decr. Grat. 2^a Pars, C^a XXIII, qu. 6, c. 1.

Answer.
Coercion only
applies to
exterior acts,
whereas
confession is
more an act of
the will than
faith.
Faith must be
free: *a fortiori*
confession.

Men should be
induced, not
forced, to
confess.

As regards
exterior acts,
force may be
employed, but
this is the duty
of temporal
lords,
not of the Pope.

This law
reduces many
to despair, and
many of the
elect are
hindered in
their way.

The Man of
Sin, as he
contradicts the
Holy Ghost
about the
Sacrament,

contradicts him
also as to the
liberty which
the faithful
should enjoy.

quod solum super operibus corporalibus vel extrinsecis
ab actibus voluntatis. Confiteri autem est actus vo-
luntis magis quam credere. Sed de ipso credere dicit
Augustinus, super Joh. omilie 26, quod nemo potest
credere, nisi volens: ergo multo magis nec meritorie
confiteri. Et quamvis apostolus dicit, Romanorum: *Corde*
creditur ad iusticiam, ore autem fit confessio ad salutem,
tamen [ir]religiosum foret cogere hominem vocaliter con-
fiteri. Confessio igitur debet induci per sanctam predi-
cationem, sicut fecerunt apostoli, et non per stultam
coactionem, sicut fecerunt posterī fidei scripture ignari.

Habito itaque super quibus operibus cadit coaccio, quia
super operibus extra voluntatem, que sunt inductiva ad
vitam meritoriam: videndum est ulterius, qui debent
sic cogere. Et constat quod domini temporales, ut patet
ex decreto Ysidori 23 q. 5. *Principes*. Quid ergo pape
et legi mandanti quod quilibet confiteatur sub gravi
pena proprio sacerdoti? Nam multa milia cristianorum
credunt quod sine hoc non possunt salvari; et sic,
propter sacerdotis maliciam et legis iniquitatem, despe-
rant, non deo penitencia salutifera confitentes; et multi
predestinati ex ista lege pestifera sunt tardati. Que
igitur ratio ad captivandum populum prius liberum
ut sic contagiose comunicet cum membro diaboli? Sed
sicut homo peccati contrariabatur spiritui sancto in suo
apostolo, docente quod *panis quem frangimus* | sit sacra-
mentum eucaristie; ipse autem, sub pena dampnationis
heretice, mandat scole sue confiteri oppositum (scilicet
quod illud sacramentum non sit panis sed accidens, ut
fingunt, de genere quantitatis); sic spiritus sanctus mandat
in comuni apostolorum consilio, Act. 15, quod religiosi
sui observent libertatem et facilitatem in qua ipse eos in-
stituit. Sed anticristus captivat eos per legem contrariam,
ut verificet dictum apostoli, Thessal. 2^o, de anticristo
prophetatum, quod extollitur super omne quod dicitur
deus. Condant igitur leges veras implicitas in sacra scrip-
tura, vel melius leges vitales in ipsa explicitas exequantur.

1. operibus *twice* A. 2. aut A. 8. religiosum *omnes* MSS. 9. Con-
fessor A. 12, 13. cadit — operibus *deest* C. 17. lege B. 23. capticiuā A.
34. 2 Thess. B. 36. Condat C.

8—10. Note these two lines: they contain the chief ground
for Wyclif's objection to the canon *omnis utriusque*. 16. Decr.
Grat. 2^a Pars, C^a XXIII, qu. 5, c. 20.

- H. Sed secundo obicitur per hoc quod Augustinus, Hugo, Linconiensis et alii sancti videntur dicere quod oris confessio sit de necessitate salutis, ut 2^o de visitacione infirmorum: "Non," inquit, "deducat te illa sompniancium
5 supersticio, que musitando confirmat quia salvat, inconsulto sacerdote, ad deum peccatorum confessio". Et sequitur: "coram sacerdote confiteri habes ipsius quod iudicium subire debes". Item Hugo de sacramentis, libro 2^o parte 14^a. "Hii," inquit, "qui confiteri nolunt peccata
10 sua, salvari non possunt". Augustinus dicit, "non potest quis iustificari a peccata, nisi confessus fuerit ante". Item Beda in epistola Jacobi: "Sine confessione," inquit, "peccata dimitti nequeunt." Et multa sunt dicta similia, que inculcat. Item, Linconiensis in tractatu suo de confessione probat multipliciter quod confessio est neecessaria
15 ad salutem. Quamvis enim in lege veteri, quando deus non fuit homo, non fuit taliter confitendum, tamen in lege nova, quando verbum est simul deus et homo, confitendum est simul deo et homini. Et videtur, cum
20 homo peccando offendit in deum et proximum, quod confiteri debet utrique et satisfacere, iuxta doctrinam Christi Matth. 5. *Si offers munus tuum ante altare, et cetera.* Et idem dictum dicunt sancti concorditer plus quam de eucharistia. Sacramentum itaque tam utile
25 ecclesie est servandum. Hic teneo tamquam fidem quod christianus adultus potest in casu salvari sine confessione vocali facta proprio sacerdoti. Nam eque misericors et viam facilitans veniendi ad beatitudinem est deus in lege nova sicut fuit in lege veteri. Sed in lege veteri
30 fidelis salvari potuit sine tali: ergo et in lege nova. Nam toto tempore legis nature non fuit hoc observatum; sed sine sacerdote salvando facta est sepe generalis confessio. Eciam tempore legis date non legitur iniuncta vel facta talis confessio. Sed multi in bellis et in sacerdotum absentia creduntur probabiliter sancte obiisse.

Objections (2). According to many Doctors, oral confession is necessary for salvation.

Hugo of St. Victor says that without confession of sins none can be saved; so does Augustine, and Bede.

Grosseteste holds the same view. Under the Old Law, it was necessary to confess to God alone; now that God is man, we must confess to God and to man.

Answer. It is an article of faith that a man can be saved without confession. God is not less merciful now than under the Old Law; but both before the Law and under it men were saved without confession made to a priest.

1. Obieccio in marg. B. 13. in causa pro dicta A. 18. simul deest B. 20. homo deest A; ib. in deest B. 21. ac BC. 23. dictum deest BC. 25. ecclesie deest C. 32. fuit sacerdoti AC; ib. est deest AC.

25. This is an article of faith not only for Wyclif but for Catholics too. But they understand it in this way. Any man that has perfect contrition, proceeding from the love of God, is restored to grace without confession; yet he is obliged to confess, *if possible*. On the other hand, attrition, or sorrow for sin proceeding merely from the fear of Hell, absolutely requires confession.

If the Apostles
had confessed,
the Holy Ghost
would surely
have let us
know of it.
Scripture in
many places
asserts that
God pardons
the contrite
sinner.

And Christ
healed sinners
without their
confessing.

Again, if a man
should spend
his whole life
virtuously
without
confession, he
will be saved
on that account.

God can give
His grace
without using
the priest's
ministry; if so,
He can also
save without it,
as in the case
of Cornelius.
We do not hear
that Peter
received
absolution.

Lazarus coming
forth from the
grave bound, is
a figure of such
spiritual
resurrection,
performed by
God directly.
And when
priests are bad,
God does not
deprive Himself
of his power
because of that.
Ambrose says
that unless the
priest has the
Holy Ghost,
and prays

Et idem creditur de apostolis et aliis sanctis de tempore legis Cristi, qui se confessi fuissent, spiritus sanctus non fuisset immemor explanasse. Et confirmatur ex fide scripture. Nam psalm. 31 dicitur: *Dixi: confitebor adversum me iniusticiam meam domino; et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei.* Et Ezech. 18 dicitur: *Si autem egerit impius penitenciam ab omnibus peccatis suis que operatus est, et custodiret omnia precepta mea, et fecerit iudicium et iusticiam, vita vivet et non morietur. Omnium iniquitatum eius quas operatus est non recordabor.* Et idem patet de Cristo sanante peccatores, licet non sibi vel apostolis sint taliter confessi. Et concordant glosse sanctorum et leges ecclesie: ut patet de penitencia dist. 1^a, magna pietas.

Item, stat hominem non confiteri et virtuose agere usque ad mortem, servando iusticiam sine hoc quod confiteatur taliter sacerdoti, sed eo ipso salvabitur: ergo, stat hominem salvari sine confessione huiusmodi. Assumptum patet, quia omnia ista fuerunt per se et immediate per gratiam; sed nimis blasphemum foret dicere quod deus non potest vel nunquam dat gratiam, nisi mediante tali ministerio sacerdotis; ergo eque blasphemum est dicere quod nullus peccator potest salvari sine tali confessione facta sacerdoti. Sic enim deus iustificavit Cornelium Act. 10, antequam fuit visitatus per Petrum. Nec loquitur de absolutione Petri, sed de eius predicacione. In cuius figuram Luc. 17 dicitur quod 10 leprosi, dum ibant se ostendere sacerdotibus, sunt mundati. Et, Joh. XI, legitur Lazarum vivificatum et de sepulcro egressum antequam fuit solutus institis per apostolos: que omnia figurant deum sepe solvere hominem a peccato, vel sine tali presbitero vel antequam traditiones inventas dixerit super eum: quia horrenda blasfemia foret dicere quod postquam sacerdotes ydolatrarunt virtute tradicionis eorum deus precluserit sibi potenciam dimittendi per se peccata sine talibus mediis. Sed quando fuerunt sacerdotes sancti, tale adiutorium non quesivit. Nam secundum Ambrosium in libro 1^o de penitencia, nisi sacerdos habuerit spiritum sanctum

1. *in* de tpe A; de before tempore deest BC. 2. si sic B; *ib.*
fuisset C. 3. esset A. 4. *et* ideo pro nam B. 9. eius deest B.
10. que A. 14. non deest B; *ib.* conteri C. 17. after confessione,
tamen in marg. B. 18. *fuit* C; *ib.* et deest A. 23. deus deest B.
24. iustificat A. 28. lacarum A. 29. institis A; inscitis C.

- et orando confesso meruerit, non absoluit. Unde Cristus preclusit decem leprosis aditum et presenciam sacerdotibus propter eorum maliciam, Lu. 17. Et quod precepit apostolis solvere Lazarum, quid ad illos, tantum a
- 56^a 5 vita apostolica alienos? Non enim est | obediencia deo et ecclesie ut adeat sacerdotem leprosum, postquam fuerit plene absolutus.
- Item, in baptismo et eukaristia, que sunt sacramenta expressissima in evangelio, contingit deum dare rem
- 10 sacramenti sine sacramento sensibili: ergo, multo magis in sacramento penitencie minus fundabili. Assumptum patet de baptismo sanguinis et flaminis, que sepe dantur sine baptismo fluminis. Et rem sacramenti eukaristie sepe accipit quis non sacramentaliter, sine sacramento
- 15 sensibili: ergo evidencius sepe accipit absolucionem criminis a deo sine absoluzione sensibili sacerdotis. Unde Ambrosius libro secundo de penitencia. "Si," inquit, "semel Cristus pro omnibus immolatus est, itaque quocienscunque peccata donantur, corporis eius sacramentum sumitur." Unde, ut ostendi alias, non existente
- 20 penes nos aliquo sensibili sacramento, contingeret fideles meritorius manducare corpus Cristi gloriosum in celo, quam iam manducatur sacramentaliter in hostia consecrata. Sicut enim *generacio adultera signa querit* in
- Matth. XII, 39 25 vestibulis et ritibus adinventis, per que destruitur cultus et attentio ad signata; sic tota religio modernorum deprimitur in sacramenta sensibilia, cultoribus signorum
- Coloss. III, 1 30 dimittentibus *que sursum sunt querere*, et prorumpentibus in istam blasphemiam, quod deus non potest dare rem sacramenti, nisi ipsi adiuverint, ministrando signa que ipsimet sompniant. Et ebullivit hec heresis in magis blasphemum mendacium, quod deus pepigit signis eorum assistere regulariter, dando gratiam et non dando salutem vel gratiam sine illis. Quo contra: sicut legio thebaica
- 35 gloriose martirisata beatificatur in celo sine confessione huiusmodi, sic usque hodie Greci sancte et devote observant se a peccato sine confessione auriculari, confitendo deo secundum doctrinam Crisostomi super epistolam ad Hebreos; et ponitur in de penitencia dist. 1^a.
- 40 "Non tibi dico," inquit, "ut te prodas in publicum

meritoriously, his absolution is not valid. Christ ordered the Apostles to loose Lazarus; but these men are not Apostles. Nothing can oblige a man who is cleansed from sin to go to a leprous priest. If the baptism of blood and of the Spirit gives regeneration; if the Eucharistic grace is often given without the sensible sign: *a fortiori* the same may take place for Penance.

And if we had no visible sign of Christ's Body, it were better to feed on Christ, glorious in Heaven. All the attention of men is now turned towards external signs, and the things signified are forgotten; in so far that they blasphemously imagine that God has made a covenant not to give any grace without them.

Many martyrs have been saved without confession, and the Greek Church does not impose it as an obligation to all: Chrysostom quoted.

2. preclusis A; *ib.* additum C; *ib.* pñcia3 A. 4. lacarum A.
6. audeat A. 9. expñli'a (sic) A; expressiva C. 18. que *deest* after
ita C. 22 gloriosum *deest* A. 27. cultorum A. 31. sompniant A;
ib. ebulli^a A; ebullit B; ebullit C. 33. et non dando *twice* A. 38. 2^a A.

neque aput alios accuses, sed obedire te volo prophete
 dicenti, *Revela domino viam tuam*: ante dominum igitur ^{Ps. XXXV.}
 tua confitere peccata, ante deum iudicem cum oratione
 delicta tua pronuncia, non lingua, sed consciencie tue
 memoria." Quicquid autem dixerit Graciosus vel alii, hoc 5
 cadit sub precepto tamquam necessarium ad salutem, et
 aliud est sepe *de bene esse*. Radix itaque erroris stat in
 parificatione tradicionis humane, cum lucrum sapiat,
 mandatis domini; sicut religiosi nostri dicunt quod omne
 mandatum sui prelati privati prepositi debet servari ut 10
 mandata domini, eciam plus quam Cristi consilia. Et in
 ista ficta obediencia est nimis magnus lapsus religionis
 cristiane; et per hoc patet responsio ad doctores.

Contrition alone
 is absolutely
 necessary; the
 rest is
 accessory, and
 it is wrong to
 equal human
 observance to
 Christ's Law.

So to reply to
 the objections
 in detail, we
 must note that
 there are two
 extremes of
 error of which
 we must
 beware: one, of
 believing that a
 man ought in
 no case to
 confess; the
 other that
 confession must
 follow certain
 strict lines.

Augustine's
 words refer to
 the former
 error; and it
 may be the duty
 of an ignorant
 layman to
 confess to a
 good priest.

If the layman
 knows more
 and the priest
 less of God's
 law, the latter
 should confess
 to the former;
 and in the case
 of equal
 knowledge on
 both sides, as
 in Augustine's
 time, confession
 should be made
 to the priest.
 The difficulty
 of finding

Pro quo notandum quod duplex fuit error extremus
 circa confessionem peccatorum faciendam homini. 15
 Primus dixit quod nemo debet in casu aliquo homini
 confiteri, et contra illud invexerunt doctores predicti.
 Secundus error maior surrepsit cum sectis signa colen-
 cium, dicens quod nisi quis confiteatur secundum formam
 et tempus quod ipsi instituerunt, eo ipso ex inobediencia 20
 incidit in mortale. Et istam blasphemiam niterentur cuncta
 fideles destruere, tenendo medium virtuosum: scilicet,
 quod quandoque debet homo gratis confiteri antistiti,
 et quandoque talem confessionem diffugere.

Quantum ad dictum Augustini, patet quod loquitur 25
 contra illos qui dicunt quod non licet confiteri homini;
 et sic conceditur in casu quod aliquis laycus tenetur
 de necessitate salutis confiteri proprio sacerdoti; neces-
 sitatem ex suppositione intelligo; ut, posito quod erret
 in fide, et deus aptet sibi unum sacerdotem discretum 30
 ut ipsum consulat. Et sic, versis laicis in sapientes ad
 fidem scripture, et versis sacerdotibus in ignaros legis
 dei et imprudentes, necesse est in casu sacerdotes laicis
 confiteri. Ideo, quantum ad dictum Augustini, dicit
 fidelis quod posita paritate sapientie sacerdotum et 35
 ignorancie laicorum cum ceteris paribus (sicut fuit in
 tempore suo) laici debent sacerdotibus confiteri. Verso
 autem ordine ad contrarium, non debet fieri talis
 penitencia generalis. Ideo imprudenter est constituere
 generaliter talem legem, cum non habeant potestatem 40

1. dm' C. 5. ergo pro autem B. 9. mundana omnes MSS.
 10. prelati deest BC. 14. triplex C. 15. peccatoris AC. 19. deus pro
 dicens A. 27. concedatur B. 31. ac pro ad AC. 39. imprudentis C.

5. Graciosus. Perhaps a mistake for Gratianus.

- sacerdotes ydoneos plene per ecclesiam ordinare, nec
necessitatem laicos generaliter ad istud statuere. Unde
sapientis est consulere ab iniquis sacerdotibus, [et] quo
ad istud consilium precavere. Ideo dicit Ambrosius, 2^o
5 de penitencia, quod communicacio cum malis sacerdotibus
sepe nocet. "Arbitror," inquit, "quod Judas potuisset
tanta domini miseracione non excludi a venia, si peni-
tenciam non aput Judeos sed aput Cristum egisset.
Matth. XXVII, 4 *Peccavi, inquit, quod tradidi sanguinem iustum. Respon-*
derunt, quid ad nos? tu videris!" Et tantum est hodie
periculum confiteri stultis sacerdotibus sicut tunc fuit
confiteri summis sacerdotibus Iudeorum.
- Et quantum ad dictum Hugonis, patet quod intelligit
eundem sensum: videlicet, quod subditis egentibus con-
15 silio sacerdotis ex ignorancia debent sacerdotes prudentes
consulere. Nec movet, ut arguit, quod istud non expresse
56^b percipitur in scriptura, quia per idem | non debet ser-
vari oppositum, cum non exprimitur in scriptura. Et
sic loquitur de confessione fienda deo, quod est simpli-
20 citer necessaria ad salutem. Confessio autem fienda
homini [nunc] est ex suppositione necessaria, et nunc
nocet. Unde, quia ex utraque parte potest esse defectus,
intendendum est fidei scripture, que debet a sacerdotibus
predicari, et in partem omissionis istius ewangelisacionis
25 [non] oportet confessionem et alia sacramenta introducere
ad gravamen ecclesie. Nam apostoli usi sunt ewangeli-
sacione, non tali confessione; et diu post ipsos sancti
heremite qui multis annis sine tali confessione vixerunt
in heremo; et sic credo esse hodie multos in orbe.
30 Ulterius quantum ad dicta Lyncolniensis et quorum-
cunque doctorum quos oportet curare in ista materia,
patet quod militant sub eadem sententia. Nam merentes
in penam peccati sui habere stultos prepositos qui
nesciunt ewangelisare, oportet habere aliam maneriem
35 in ordinacione. Et hinc credo quod ad sanandum eccle-
siam a morbo quadruplici, scilicet ab ydolatria, a symonia,
ab apostasia atque blasfemia, oportet uti cauteriis,
3. et *deest omnes MSS.* 15. debet A. 18. in scriptura *deest C.*
21. nunc *before* est *deest omnes MSS.*; *ib.* et non C. 22. *extraque A.*;
ib. de *fais pro* defectus A. 25. non *deest omnes MSS.* 27, 28. et —
vixerunt *deest A.* 28. qui *deest B.* 29. celo A. 35. quod *deest A.*

everywhere a
man fit for this
office shows the
foolishness of
the law.

It is dangerous
to confess to
bad priests, as
Judas did.

Hugo of
St. Victor
speaks in the
same sense.

He says: If
confession is
not commanded
in Scripture,
neither is it
commanded to
abstain from
confession.

This relates to
confession
made to God;
the other is now
necessary and
now hurtful.

As for what
Grosseteste and
the other
doctors say, they
are of the same
mind.

As for those
who as a
punishment for
sin have had
bad priests set
over them, the
cure would be
to deprive the
latter of their
benefices.

25. I incline to believe that there are several words wanting
after *ewangelisacionis*; if not, *non* must be supplied before
oportet as I have done.

The general confession at the beginning of Mass is allowed to efface small sins, and great ones too if there is contrition; and without that no absolution can avail.

Private confession too is needful, but it must be free.

And satisfaction to all who may have been injured must follow; without which there is no pardon.

temporalia que vocantur cleri substantia auferendo. Valet itaque omnis confessio facta in ecclesia ut in misse inicio; quia, ut dicit Hugo ubi supra, delet peccata minora, et indubie peccata maiora, dum adest contritio; et sine illa non potest etiam papa absolvere. Et quantum 5 ad Lynconiensem, conceditur quod confessio etiam privata est necessaria, sed non exacta, vel ydolatra, vel onerosa. Et sic confitendum est post incarnationem deo et homini, ut fuit in lege veteri. Quod si peccator confiteretur privatim cuilibet in quem peccaverit, nimis 10 diu foret antequam celebraret, quia indubie peccavit in deum et in totam universitatem creatam. Ideo rationabiliter ordinatur in missarum iniciis, quod homo confiteatur generaliter deo et toti creature rationali, quod non fuit superflue ordinatum; sed oportet quod 15 in particulari satisfaciat cuilibet quem offendit, quia aliter non est sibi vera confessio facta nec deo.

1. tpa^m A; *ib.* vocatur A; *ib.* v3 A. 2. communis C; *ib.* ut in
deest C. 3. hug^e A. 4. innumera A. 6. est *pro* etiam A.
6, 7. privata etiam est C. 7. ydolatr^m A. 8. on^oo^a A; avara *pro*
onerosa BC. 9. sed B. 10. inquam A; *ib.* peccaverat B. 15. non
deest A. 16. in quem B.

CAPITULUM DECIMUM.

Sed 3^o obicitur per hoc quod penitencia primo vel 2^o modo dicta non est descriptibilis, nec docetur quomodo fieri debet; igitur diminute proceditur.

5 Hic negatur antecedens, cum in principio proximi capituli describitur. Confessio enim est actus confitentis, et sumitur nunc pro confessione extrinseca, nuncque pro confessione intrinseca, et nunc mixtim. Sumitur etiam nunc pro confessione boni laudabilis, et nunc pro confessione peccati dampnabilis: primo modo sumitur crebrius in scriptura; ut, Matth. XI, dicit Christus: *Confiteor tibi domine, pater celi et terre*, etc. Et luce XII, *quicumque me confessus fuerit coram hominibus, et filius hominis confitebitur eum coram angelis dei* etc. Et Joh. 1^o de baptista legitur, quod *confessus est quia non sum ego Christus*; que confessio utique veritatis est maxime necessaria; nec valet confessio peccati, nisi de quanto est confessio veritatis.

20 Quod autem datur occasio in confessionibus adinventis fingere falsitatem, indicat illas confessiones originari a patre mendacii. Nec sollicitor illas confessiones exactas describere, cum exactores primo peccant in grammaticam, dicentes: *Confiteor* (sponte fateor), peccata mea *coactus*, et indubie peccant consequenter in aliis scienciis et in fide. Optima igitur differentia pro descriptione huius confessionis foret dicere quod sit confessio exacta per regem superbie propter questum. Nam plane constat fidelibus ex aliis factis curatorum, quod multi non sollicitantur circa confessionem subditi propter

It may be objected that there is no possible definition of penance in the 1st and 2nd sense. We deny this. Confession is the act of him that confesses; it is either internal, external, or both; either of something good, or of something evil;

and should in any case be true.

This is a point in which forced confessions often fail.

There is in any case a grammatical error, since *to confess* means *to speak out freely*.

The specific difference between this confession, and all others is that it is exacted by the King of Pride and for lucre.

1. Capitulum XIII. A. 3. de scrupulis AB. 7. que *deest* C.
12. etc. *deest* BC. 15. etc. *pro* hominibus — dei A; *ib.* de *deest* C.
16. quia *deest* C; *ib.* que *deest* BC; *ib.* itaque B. 23. dicentes A;
dicente B. 23. 24. sponte sed fateor mea facta coactus C. 24. facta
pro peccata B. 25. differentia *deest* B; in C. 26. huius *drā* B; con-
fessionis huiusmodi C. 29. maxime propter B.

It is a fact that
most priests
only question
about tithes etc.

If the money
offerings were
taken from
them, they
would no
longer hear
confessions.

Would that all
men knew well
that they ought
no more to
confess
to such
idolatrous,
leprous,
simoniacal
heretics,
than to the
devil!

Idolatrous, for
avarice is
idolatry;

simoniacal, and
deprived of the
power of the
keys; heretical,
and therefore
to be shunned
as heathens.

We may not
even salute
such a one,
much less
confess to him.

It were better
to confess to
God alone than
to such a man.

If the confessor,
commanding
the penitent to
give money,
even hints that
it should go to
himself, he
should
be shunned in
future.

If he directs
alms to be given
without

sanitatem sue anime, sed potius propter questum. Cuius indicium est, quod confessor solícite querit de decimis et oblacionibus directe vel indirecte; iniungit penas pecuniarias, et omittit quod foret magis necessarium subditis ad salutem. In cuius confirmacionem tolle⁵ pecuniam a penitenciaro et spem lucri, et videbis quod renuet officium huiusmodi confessiones audiendi.

Et utinam omnes confitentes forent plene informati, tam intellectu quam affectu, quod nullo modo confiteantur solitarie tali presbitero quem sciunt vel probabiliter credunt plus stare pro confessionibus istis, ut fastum et questum habeat, quam ut anime confessi lucri faciat. Nam omnes tales penitenciarum sunt ydolatre, leprosi, symoniaci et manifesti heretici. Nulli tali homo debet scienter vel reputative plus confiteri quam diabolo; ¹⁵ ergo conclusio. Nam omnis talis antiquatus in avaricia, *que est ydolorum servitus*, est infideli deterior; que ergo comunicatio Christiani ad Belial? Item, talis symoniacus caret clavibus ecclesie, et ex comunicacione contaminat ipsum qui deberet habere super hoc conscienciam: ergo, ²⁰ cristianus non debet tali penitenciaro confiteri. Item, talis hereticus est fugiendus *ut ethnicus*, ut docet Cristus ^X Matth. XVIII. Ymmo, quicumque ei *ave* dixerit *comunicabit eius operibus* ex consensu; ergo, nemo debet illi ^J secretum peccati prodere tanquam Cristi vicario. Nam ²⁵ consciencia sua debet dictari sibi oppositum: debet ergo peccator confiteri deo et non solitario homini, si non assit nisi penitencia huiusmodi sacerdotum.

Et ad probandum dictam ydolatriam, utinam omnes confitentes | unite subtrahant questum a suo confessore, ³⁰ ut videant si cum Paulo querat *animas non pecuniam* confessorum. Quod si iniungat penitenciam pecuniariam, limitando (directe vel indirecte) quod ipse habeat, contritus debet ipsum auffugere; cum nemo debet tali apostate taliter obedire. Quod si iniungatur penitencia ³⁵ per distribucionem pecunie in confuso, fiat aliis egenis, non sibi particio, quia licet fuerit aliunde indigens, tamen ut sic est indignus elemosinam eciam a deo recipere. Quod si ³ extorquet pecuniam, iniungendo graves et irrationabiles penitencias, ut pecunia redimantur, auffugiat ⁴⁰ confessorem et contritus confidenter accipiat sacra-

2. solícite C.
Cristianus C.

13. fiant A.

18. Cristi A.

10, 21. igitur talis

mentum. Quod si negatur subditis a prelato, adiecta excommunicatione et censuris aliis, gaudeat de persecutione quod *dignus sit pati tot tribulationes in nomine* veritatis; et considerando humiliter persecuciones et obprobria que Christus pro nobis pertulit ex malicia sacerdotum, manducat meritorius, quia spiritualiter iocundius, gloriosum corpus Cristi in celo, quam minus promerens communicans sacramentaliter cum applausu presbiteri. Deus enim non potest in necessariis suos fideles deserere.

Verumtamen innitendum est vere prudencie, confortando membra ecclesie, ut constanter agant atque celeriter pro destruenda civitate Babylonica et meretrice que in ipsa presidet, cum excluduntur a celestibus Jerusalem qui consensu finalis inpenitencie signo bestie sunt signati, ut patet Apok. 20 et 25. Contempnat itaque fidelis prudenter leges bestie, abhominans hoc porisma, quod "si quidquam statuit, licet sit falsum notum huiusmodi, eciam debet sibi parere, faciendo quod iubet, donec decernat oppositum." Sic enim extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus, cum exigit tantam obedienciam sicut Christus, et super hoc potest errare ex libertate arbitrii. Nam iuxta hoc principium anticristi, si bestia erraret perpetuo, fidelis debet perpetuo ipsam consequi in errore et sic aufugere veritatem, que est Christus, et diabolice sequi illam.

Unde tria sunt principia anticristi; primum iam dictum est, quod in voluntate bestie, ac si esset deus, universa sunt posita, licet notorie obviet legi Cristi. Secundum principium hominis peccati, quod generatio spiritualis filiorum dei nedum consequitur generationem carnalem hereditarie, sed generationem localem ex electione perfida constituta. Tercium principium ex istis pululans est quod plus ponderatur vocalis confessio quam ipse instituit, quam cordis contritio quam deus instituit et requirit.

Sed redeundo ab istis blasfemiis, videndum est secundum doctrinas sanctorum, quomodo oris confessio debet fieri. Ponit autem lyncolnensis 108º, quod patenter hec

specifying, they should be given to others, not to him.

Should he impose unreasonable penances, in order to get money, the faithful should leave him and take the Sacrament after due contrition.

And if excommunication ensues, let them rejoice and communicate spiritually.

We must act prudently, firmly, and promptly against Babylon; for all those that bear the mark of the Beast shall be excluded from Heaven.

Especially let us abhor this principle: that whatever may be decreed, whether right or wrong, should be submitted to.

This is the first of three antichristian principles; the second holds that spiritual generation may depend upon election made in a certain place; the third, that the confession of the lips is better than contrition.

How oral confession should be made. Five requisites: hatred of sin,

8. communicatus AB. 9. fideles suo (sic) C. 11, 12. confortandi B. 15. assensu B. 16. 20 et deest B. 22. Christus deest B. 25. sequi C. 27. Nota 3ª principia anticristi in marg. B. 33. puida constitutam C. 33, 34. est pululans ex istis, quod C. 37. Nota lyncolnensem in marg. B. 38. eorum pro oris B. 39. dco 108º C; ib. pñent A.

sorrow, resolve
not to fall again,
confession when
possible, and
satisfaction.

Long quotation
from
Grosseteste.
Hatred of sin
means hatred of
all sin; not of
one only;

and this
implies that
whatever can
be done to
destroy sin
in others and
in self is really
done.

A man who
persecutes sin
becomes
righteous
thereby.

And this hatred
must be
perpetual;
therefore there
must be a
resolve never
to sin again.

And confession
is implied in
hatred of sin,
since this helps
to destroy it.
As Hell is the
penance of the
impenitent —
infinite but
compelled

quinque secuntur penitenciam: peccati odium et dolor, velle
nunquam ad peccatum redire, (si oportunitas adest) peccati
confessio, et satisfaccio. Qui autem odit peccatum, quia
peccatum, odit omne peccatum. "Unde," inquit, "patet quod
qui vere penitet de uno, penitet de omnibus. Unde qui 5
videntur sibi odire aliquod unum peccatum et amore
amplectuntur aliud, non oderunt illud quia peccatum
est, ac per hoc nec illud oderunt, sed oderunt aliquid
comitans illud; ut aut infamiam aut dampnum aut
penam aliquam. Item, qui odit peccatum, quia peccatum, 10
odit omne peccatum ubicunque; sic ergo vult illud
occidi et non esse ubicunque est possibile illud occidi
et non esse: ergo, vult quodlibet peccatum occidi et
non esse in quolibet viatore; maxime autem illud vult
occidi in se, ubi sibi plus nocet. Sed si hoc vult non 15
tepentem nec saucia voluntate, agit ut occidatur peccatum
in quocunque, quibus potest correptionibus, mali dete-
stationibus, boni persuasione, exempli ostensione: peni-
tens itaque persecutor est peccati et iniusticie; sed qui
peccatum et iniusticiam persequitur, quomodo non bonus 20
et iustus est penitens? ergo eo quod persecutor est
mali et iniusti, iustus et bonus est. Verum igitur peccati
odium est odire illud propter se, quia peccatum, quia
malum, quia summo bono oppositum: cuius veri odii
signa sunt odire illud esse in omni homine, in omni 25
tempore. Item, si odit peccatum et vult illud non esse,
vult (modis quibus potest) agere ut sint ea que peccatum
evacuant; ac de his est compassio et oratio bonorum. Vult
ergo bonis que de hiis docent peccatum manifestari, ut
eorum oracione et compassione speciali possit deleri. Unde 30
qui vere penitet, confitebitur, si potest. Item, cum in D.
peccato criminali (quia de criminalibus hic intendimus) sit
infiniti boni amissio, ymmo infiniti boni spontanea abiectio,

3. quod A. 5. de omnibus *in marg.* C. 6. amare A. 8. a'd A;
aliud (*clare*) C. 11. igitur C; *ib.* w¹ A. 12. occidit A. 13. igitur C.
15. occidere C; *ib.* sibi *deest* BC; *ib.* si si A; *ib.* non *deest* A. 16. non
pro nec A. 17. malis C. 23. est *pro* quia *after* peccatum B. 26. w¹ A.
28. hac de hisque A; at quem de his est B. 29. quibus decet A.
30. spiritualibus BC; possunt B; possent C.

1. *Quinque* is in all the MSS. and is repeated a few pages further; yet in the quotation from Grosseteste, I can find but four conditions of penance. Probably sorrow for sin, which he seems to include under the head of satisfaction, is counted separately by Wyclif.

nonne hec spontanea abieccio exigit de rigore iusticie, suffering — the
 sicut in inpenitente involuntarium dolorem infinitum, penitent should
 sic in penitente voluntarium infinitum? scilicet, ut peni- voluntarily for
 tens vellet sine fine, spontanea voluntate, tantam iacturam ever, until he is
 dolore, nisi is, qui sponte abiecit misericordiam, vellet enough.
 huius doloris | aliquando miseriam tollere? quomodo
 erit penitens iustus, nisi velit infiniti boni spontaneam
 abieccionem semper dolere et punire, donec dicat ei is
 cui reconciliari cupit: Satis est? quomodo amandi sine
 modo est dolenda amissio sine modo? Quomodo ergo
 in voluntate transitoria creata fuit voluntas peccati per-
 petua, cui in inpenitente iuste debetur et redditur
 perpetua involuntaria pena: ita in voluntate penitentis
 est dolor, et satisfaccio penalis, condicionalis saltem,
 perpetuus. Sed misericordia iudicis aliquando terminatur;
 non igitur finiet vere penitens spontaneum dolorem
 peccati, donec *abstergat deus omnem lacrimam ab oculis*
 sanctorum, ut iam *non sit luctus, neque dolor, quia*
priora abierunt. Satisfaccio autem est ad honorem eius
 erga quem est peccatum alicuius rei solucio, cuius
 solvens debitor non esset, si non peccasset. Quid autem
 est quod ad honorem dei exsolvi possit quod homo
 peccator deo non debeat? utique nichil. Verumtamen,
 si homo nunquam peccasset, nullius pene debitor esset.
 Item, si nullum hominis fuisset peccatum, nulla esset
 hominis miseria, et ita nulla essent misericordie opera.
 Item, si peccatum non esset, nulla esset per corrupcionem
 defeccio boni, pro qua supplenda necessaria esset oracio.
 Igitur, si peccatum hominis non fuisset istarum rerum,
 homo debitor non fuisset. Unde hec proprie in satis-
 faccione deo offeruntur, quorum nullum esset ab homine
 debitum, si nullum esset hominis peccatum; laus autem
 et alia forte aliqua, que in patria erunt iocundissima
 et nullo modo penalia; que eciam, licet homo non

Such is
 satisfaction;
 perpetual
 sorrow at
 least on the
 part of the
 sinner, and until
 God shall
 wipe all tears
 away.

But satisfaction
 implies the
 payment of a
 debt with what
 is not already
 due; and as
 before sin no
 works of mercy,
 no orisons, no
 praises coming
 (as they now
 come) with
 effort and
 difficulty, were
 due, these may
 be considered
 as satisfaction.

5. dolere B; delere m̃a C; ib. nisibus B; ib. quem A; ib. unam B.
 8. is deest B. 9. est deest A; ib. quoniam AB. 11. c'iãta A.
 12. impietas A; cui in penitente B. 13. perpetua voluntaria C.
 15. t'pma³ A. 21. Quis A. 23. p̃cto C. 24. nullus A. 26, 27. miseri-
 cordie — esset deest B; essent — nulla deest C. 31. est C. 34. nullo C.

5. The text is certainly corrupt here, and the numerous
 variantes are of but little use. Perhaps *dolere* ought to be
 substituted for *dolore*.

peccasset, essent creatori debita: hec, propter corpus
 quod *corrumpitur, et agravat animam*, et propter *legem*,
que in membris repugnat legi mentis sunt plurimum
 penalia. Unde, in quantum sunt penalia, sunt etiam
 penitencialia. Item, cum satisfaciens debeat rependere
 aliquid quod maius sit omni eo pro quo non debuisset
 delinquisse (non debuisset autem pro universa creatura
 salvanda deum abiecisse peccando); oportet igitur per
 hoc quod aliquid maius solvat quam possit solvere
 universa pura creatura, hancque solutionem solus Christus
 fecerit: patet ergo quod nullius satisfaccio aliqua est,
 nisi in quantum unita est satisfaccio Christi, qui *se ipsum*
pro nobis in satisfaccionem obtulit, ut sic in ipso satis-
 faciente condigne satisficiamus. Penitentiam autem
 comitatur dei miseratio, precum exaudicio, peccati
 dissimulacio, et ipsa est cordis contriti vivificacio, in
 ara cordis hostie sacrificacio, dei glorificacio et ad
 patriam de exilio reuicio." Sap. IX, 15 Rom. VII, 23 E. Heb. IX, 14

Thus
 Grosseteste
 only mentions
 oral confession
 as a requisite
 in case it can
 be made;
 while all the
 others are
 absolutely
 necessary
 conditions.

And if the right
 priest cannot
 be found, the
 faithful should
 grieve over this,
 and believe
 firmly that our
 Great High
 Priest will
 always give us
 absolution, if
 we are contrite.
 Not even the
 Pope could
 absolve without
 this condition.

Ex istis dictis huius sancti elicitur quod vocalis con-
 fessio facta presbitero non est necessaria nisi ex suppo-
 sicione ad delecionem peccati. Ideo nominans quinque
 necessaria ad delecionem peccati sic subtiliat: si detur
 ydoneitas et facultas, requiritur oris confessio.

Alia autem quatuor requisita exprimit simpliciter ab-
 solute; quia, ut dicit, oportet omnino satisfacere deo.
 Et cum sit ignarus ad debite penitendum pro crimine,
 deus dedit sacerdoti, eius vicario, potestatem consulendi
 et remittendi peccata ecclesie: quod non potest, nisi
 ecclesia confessa sibi fuerit.

Quod si caruerit sacerdote ydoneo, qui sciat discrete
 peccata discernere et pene medicinam aptare, debet
 dolere quod ecclesia meruit habere in penam peccati
 tales ydiotas yppocritas. Et consequenter debet ut fidem
 credere quod impossibile est summum sacerdotem cordi
 contrito deficere, qui intimet quomodo contritus debet
 satisfacere nisi ponat obicem.

Et debet tercio credere quod propter absolucionem
 vel penitentiam, etiam pape, non magis aut minus
 peccatum remittitur, nisi de quanto se dignificat mediante

1. causam corpus A. 7. debuit C. 9. ad pro aliquid A.
 12. satisfaccioni B. 15. coultan² A; comittat² C. 18. reduccio BC.
 10. dictis deest A. 30. facit C. 32. etiam pro ecclesia C. 36. obicere A.
 38. papa A.

gracia aput deum; et sepe contingit quod penitenciaris vere absolvit, quando conformat se divine sentencie. Et crebrius fallit mendaciter se et populum, quando discordat a divina sententia.

- 5 Unde non lego quod apostoli remiserunt peccatum vel excommunicarunt simpliciter, nisi quando habuerunt ad hoc revelacionem; reputative autem et condicionaliter absolvimus, sicut Lyncolniensis dicit quod omnis crimin-
 10 osus est debitor pene perpetue, sicut debet dolere perpetuo, subintellige, nisi deus gracie remittat.
 F. Unde videtur quod non modica foret elemosina detegere istam pomposam blasphemiam satraparum, qua dicunt quod ipsi habent potestatem remittendi peccata ad votum, cum deus pepigit quod regulariter conformabit
 15 se arbitrio eorum. Omnis, inquam, talis est anticristus qui extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus. Nec sequitur ex isto desperacio; sed ammota heresi firmior spes in Cristo. Debet enim fidelis credere quod, si contritus (eciam Judas vel Lucifer) Cristo vere peniteat, Cristus
 20 gracie remittat; et sine hoc non valet | remissio humana, nec proficit, nisi de quanto ad istud habilitat. Error autem blasphemus est, quo peccator potens confidit in homine dicente sibi, quod pro pecunia vult peccata dimittere et ante tribunal Cristi respondere de
 25 ipsis in die iudicii. Tales enim hereses dant infidelibus seductis audaciam ad peccandum, et subtrahunt spem ac honorem quem fidelis haberet ad Cristum, dispergendo ipsa inter membra diaboli.

Secundo, patet ex dictis doctorum quod peccator
 30 debet confiteri domino, et in casu homini, omne peccatum suum cum circumstantia agravante; ut docet Augustinus 2^o de visitacione infirmorum et in de vera penitencia dict. quinta. "Consideret," inquit, "peccator qualitatem criminis in loco et tempore, in perseverancia, in variacione persone, et quali hoc fecerit temptacione, et in ipsius vicii multiplici execucione. Et iste circum-
 35 stantie communiter notantur in isto octonario huius versus: *Quis, quid, ubi, quante, cum quot, cur, quomodo,*

The Apostles are never said to have absolved without a revelation: our absolution must therefore be conditional,

and not absolute, like those priests who pretend that God has made a compact with them; the removal of this heresy should give us more faith in Christ, who would have forgiven Judas or Lucifer.

Sometimes a priest, for a sum of money, takes upon himself the sins of a great man; this is blasphemy.

Doctrine of Augustine as regards the confession of all aggravating circumstances.

It is necessary to examine:

1. contigit AC. 7. autem deest B. 8. lyncon C. 10. se remittat A. 17. sanior A; firmior C; ib. spes species C. 21. perficit A; ib. ad deest C. 23. pro pecunia quod A; ib. w^t A et sic semper. 25. infidelibus deest A. 29. doctris C. 30. homini pro domino A; deo pro domino C. 32. vera deest C. 32, 33. penitencia, ut docetur in de vera penitencia B. 33. peccator deest A. 34. et deest C. 38. cum quo AC.

1. *Who the sinner is; as the condition of the person may render the sin more grievous:* *quando.* Oportet enim considerare gravedinem peccati, cum gravius peccat persona, que ex statu debet esse sanccior; ut peccatum sacerdotis qui debet esse gravior, est dampnabilius quam peccatum simile in abiecciori officario. Oportet secundo notare speciem peccati, cum homicidium comuniter sit furto gravius. Ideo oportet confiteri *quis quid* fecerit. Et tercio oportet notare locum *in quo* peccatum comittitur; quia peccatur in ecclesia et locis sacris gravius quam in campo; nec hoc solum est verum de furto, homicidio vel fornicacione, sed pocius de peccatis anime, ut superbia, invidia et ira, cum aliis peccatis diaboli ipsa sequentibus. Quarto, oportet notare quantitatem criminis quoad numerum, *quociens* quis peccavit, vel quoad diuturnitatem, qua in malicia perseveravit. Oportet 5^o notare, *cum quot* et qualibus complicibus peccabatur; ut in luxuria variacio persone fedate facit ad gravedinem peccati, sicut gravior est incitare personas plures et digniores ad consensum facinoris, quam foret cum paribus. Hoc dimisso, 6^o oportet notare *movens* vel incitans ad peccandum; ut gravior peccat, qui ex pura malicia vel levi evidencia deum offenderit, quam qui ex forti incitante peccaverit. Et ideo in luxuria attenditur gravedo peccati ex presentacione temptantis ad luxum, et de aliis peccatis modus temptandi gravat vel excusat peccatum. 7^o oportet attendere ad *modum* perpetrandi facinus, ut in occisione crudeliore maior malicia est ostensa; et deliberata malicia post quietem anime gravat scelera ultra hoc quod forent, si cum paribus essent subito perpetrata. 8^o, oportet *tempus* attendere, quia crimen in sacro tempore comisum, ut in quadragesima, die veneris, et diebus festis est cum paribus eo gravior.
2. *What sin has been committed; for one mortal sin may be worse than another.*
3. *Where it was committed: if in a sacred place, &c. and this is also true, even for wicked thoughts.*
4. *How many times the sin was committed, or how long the intention has lasted.*
5. *With how many and what persons;*
6. *For what motive; whether under strong temptation or not, &c.*
7. *In what manner the deed was done.*
8. *At what time; if during Lent, or on a festival.*

Waiving all questions as to how far these circumstances render a sin more grievous, we may note that the penance enjoined should be of contrary nature to the fault;

Difficultates autem scolasticas de gravedine peccati ex istis proportionalibus resultantes relinquo scolasticis; addendo quod pena medicinalis secundum crimen debet aptari tamquam sibi contraria, cum secundum principia naturalium *contraria contrariis sunt curanda*. Ut communiter contra triplex peccatum diaboli, iniungitur oracio cum devota contemplacione; contra peccata mundi in-

1. persone AC. 3. sancciori omnes MSS.; ib. deo gravior C.
10. est verum est A. 19. facinorum C. 21. levi deest AB.
23. puecone omnes MSS. 24, 25. peccandi B. 31. 8^o pro quadragesima A.
33. enim B. 36. sibi deest C. 38. scilicet diaboli A. 39. seculi BC

iungitur corporalis elemosina, et contra peccata carnis
ieiunium cum aliis macerantibus corpus peccantis. Ymmo
sicut ista tria genera criminum sunt connexa, sic pene
pro ipsis sunt cum prudentia presbiteri connectende.

5 Sed exsuperat humanam prudentiam taxare precise
quanta pena sit debita pro peccato; dicente Augustino
in *de natura boni* capitulo 9^o, quod "qualis et quanta
pena cuique culpe debeatur divini iudicii est, non hu-
mani". Sufficit ergo confessorem intencione pia quadam
10 probabilitate penam iniungere; quia oportet preter ipsam
stare divino iudicio, nec tantam penam de comuni
cursu contingit viatorem suffere pro crimine quin
maior sit debita. Ideo prudentia confessoris stat in hoc
quod iniungat penam levem in gracia sufferendam.

15 Unde lapsus blasphemi est dicere quod quantamcunque
penam parvam sacerdos iniunxerit, non est amplior
sufferenda; ymmo quod illa per se sufficiat ad salutem. Tunc
enim penitentes et penitenciam huius[modi] complentes
non forent amplius in purgatorio purgandi. Iterum peni-
20 tenciarii haberent noticiam adequandi penam pro crimine,
sicut deus; et cum varii varie iniungant penitencias
improporcionales peccatis (quia pro gravioribus penas
leviores, et e contra, et pro peccatis equalibus inequales),
relinquitur vel quod deus iniuste punit ex stulticia con-
25 fessoris, vel quod confessor ultra deum habet potenciam
1. puniendi. Iterum, si quilibet posset pecunia vel favore
presbiteri peccata quecunque redimere, quis timeret
divinum iudicium in peccando? Ideo certum est quod
nichil foret blasphemius in ore presbiteri quam dicere
30 quod precise penam quam ipse iniunxerit pro quocunque
crimine, deus taxat. Tunc enim quicquid ultra comple-
cionem huius pene peccator tollerat, ut penam corporis
usque ad mortem, non deus bonus iuste infligit, quod
est contra perfectionem divinam, que neminem punit,
35 nisi citra condignum, vel misericorditer, et contra peccati
gravedinem. Quodlibet enim peccatum, cum sit commissum
58^b in deum, est dignum pena infinitum gravi; | ymmo
anichilacione, nisi deus misericorditer respiciat pecca-

against pride
and irreligion,
prayer;
against
worldliness,
almsgiving;
against lust,
fasting.

But it is
impossible to
fix a sufficient
amount of
penance for sin
committed; this
rests with God
not with man.

It is therefore
blasfemy to say
that any
penance,
however small,
given by the
priest, is
sufficient.

If so, there
would be no
expiation for
sin in
Purgatory.
As penances
are unequal,
God would be
unjust, or the
priest more
powerful than
He.

It would be
possible to be
delivered from
all fear of God's
Judgment for
money or
friendship.

Every temporal
trouble sent
by God would
be beyond the
deserts of the
sufferer, and
therefore unjust.

And yet sin
deserves an
infinite penalty.

4. connectande B. 7. nlla = nulla A; *ib.* 4^o omnes MSS. 12. 9ti¹ =
contigit A; *ib.* quando AB. 13. 9fori¹ B C. 18. hinc B. 19. ex-
purgandi B; *ib.* Item C. 20. habent A. 21. et *deest* B. 24, 25. conforis C.
26. Item C. 32. illius BC. 33. ad *deest* A. 36. q'd lic3 C.

7. Aug. *De natura boni*, cap. 9, Ed. Louvain, tom. X, col. 604.

toem. Tales igitur blasfemi penitenciarum forent antichristi discipuli.

It follows that this confession and absolution is not absolutely necessary: and that many are not really penitent, since they do not do all in their power to take away sin from the Church.

From the Pope downwards we find false penitents; men fallen from the perfection of the Apostolic state; worldly and avoiding no occasions of worldliness.

Such men, by their absolutions and by whatever they do, are hurtful to the Church. The pertinacity with which the Pope defends his possessions is a mark of infidelity.

It is easy to judge of this by works; if his

Ex isto patet quod talis confessio, talis penitencie iniunctio et talis absolucio non est absolute necessario requisita; sed nunc proficiens et nunc nocens; 3^o patet 5 quam fite multi penitent; cum secundum doctorem, ad veram penitenciam requiritur detestacio peccati simpliciter, sic quod peccans habeat voluntatem efficacem destruendi nedum peccatum proprium, sed quodcunque peccatum ecclesie, quantum potest, quia aliter foret 10 culpabilis ex consensu, et negligens salutem propriam non iuaret corpus ecclesie secundum potenciam sibi datam. Consideremus itaque a papa usque ad infimum subiectum, et patebit ex isto quod falsa penitencia occupatur. Debent enim penitere quod temptatione 15 seculi a perfeccione status apostolici sunt dilapsi: de quo cum paribus, si non displicent, sunt impenitentes dampnandi. Et si de isto eos vere peniteat, debent instar apostolorum *mundum et concupiscenciam eius* 1 Joa 1, 10 deserere, cum nemo vere peniteat qui occasionem querit 20 unde peccavit; talis indubie non amat peccatum suum extingwere, sed fovere; et periculum talis heretici nimis nocet ecclesie. Ideo totus cristianismus debet talem prelatum ut anticristum contempnere, quia eius benedictio, absolucio, dispensacio et quicquid fecerit nocet ecclesie. 25 Ideo nota pure infidelitatis est quod papa defendit tam infideliter partem suam. Si enim papa nititur defendere plus dominium suum quam Cristi pauperiem; si plus fovet symoniam, quam sanctimoniam; si plus intendit blasfeme confederacioni, quam sancte ewange- 30 lisacioni: quis dubitat quin sit ydolatra blasfemus et pessimus anticristus? Ista autem potest populus ex 1. operibus patenter iudicare; ut, si plus appetat vel aspirat in se ad temporalem excellenciam quam ad renuncia-

3. pene C. 16. a deest A. 17. quocunque A. 18. ipsos C.
19. gcupia AC. 20. quia pro qui A. 21. quia talis AC. 26. populus
omnes MSS.; ib. descendit A; defendat B. 32. plus pro populus C.

2. In all that precedes it is not quite clear whether Wyclif objects to a certain amount of penance, imposed and accepted, considered as merely making the sacrament *valid*, or considered as completely doing away with all further liabilities. It seems to be the latter; but if so, I doubt whether even in his time any one ventured to say the contrary *explicitly*. It would clearly be the ruin of the doctrine of indulgences.

cionem apostolicam; si promovet ad curam anime suos complices quoad artem huius cure inhabiles; et si extollit suas tradiciones, quibus ferventer hec scelera erubescens vel tacens ewangelium est *infideli deterior*; quis non detestatur et fugit talem refugam, ymmo nititur disperdere sectam suam? Et illam sectam vel privative vel positive est facile fideli cognoscere: ut silencium ewangelizandi, carencia vitam Cristi exemplandi, et usurpacio temporalia fidelium spoliandi. Optandum namque foret fidelibus anathematizari a talibus, non benedici, cum deus de illis dicit: *Maledicam benedictionibus vestris*. Aliqui itaque orando, alii hortando et aliqui conculcando debent tali apostate obviare; quia Matth. 5, dicit veritas: *Quod si sal evanuerit ad nichilum valet ultra, nisi ut mittatur foras et conculcetur ab hominibus*. Fidelis itaque debet credere ewangelio, postpositis falsis glosis, et cavere omnino ne consensu omissionis sit proditor veritatis.

temporalities are too much thought of, if his incapable partisans are promoted, if his traditions are extolled, such an apostate should be hated,

his curses wished for, his blessings spurned; he should be dealt with by prayer, remonstrances or open scorn.

Notet secundo fidelis, si sit falsa penitencia in episcopis et prelatiis, et omnino, si secundum condignos fructus penitencie reddent, sequendo Cristi vestigia. Nam omittendo hunc fructum decipiunt sese et populum, cum iudicent se esse non vere penitentes, sed hereticos induratos; et in isto patencius quod in castigando subiectos dimittunt leges papales super ewangelio fundatas, et puniunt annuatim pena pecuniaria peccatores: qualis peccati continuacio est dampnatissima symonia. Quid, rogo, dampnacijs quam relinquere legem dei atque ecclesie, iniuriam dei pro moneta proditorie vendere, et salutem subditi pro lucro postponere? specialiter post tantam temporalium habundanciam ex dotacione, post tantam simulatam yppocrisin, quod hoc fit ex caritatis fervore, et post tam avarum amplexum pecunie in curato neglecto improvide dispensante? Quis dubitat quin tanta macula erit aput summum iudicem severissime condemnata? Talis autem non vere penitet, nec est membrum sancte matris ecclesie, cum apostolus dicat Eph. 5. *Omnis avarus, quod est ydolorum servitus, non habet hereditatem in regno Cristi et dei*. Si autem non habet

False penance may be discovered in those Bishops

who set aside Papal laws founded on the Gospel, and punish sinners by means of a yearly fine: which simony renders sin perpetual, and is especially condemnable, considering the Bishops' riches, their pretended charity and their real greed.

Such men are only in, not of the Church, like hirelings or wolves.

4. qui pro quis omnes MSS. 5. et deest A; ib. confugit A. 7. similitudinem AC. 14. ultra deest A. 15. hominibus deest A. 17. sit A. 21. reddent AC. 23. esse deest C. 24. in before castigando deest C. 28. nisi pro quam C. 34. improvidus A. 35. ma = materia A.

hereditatem in ecclesia, sed tamquam mercenarius vel lupus sit in illa, quis dubitat quod non sit de illa?

None have the heritage, unless they be sons of

God and co-heirs with Christ:

and many, great according to the world, are only

in, not of the Church, and thence proceeds

the practical idolatry that has produced so many abuses.

Ambrose quoted.

Speaking of death, he says: It is a good thing; but in order not to fear it, we must live unworldly lives;

that our soul, like an eagle, may soar on high, and escape the snares

of riches and of the passions.

Seeking either gold or silver or possessions, we are ensnared,

quia, iuxta fidem, nemo est sponsa Cristi vel membrum eius, nisi dei filius adoptivus, et iuxta argumentum apostoli, si sit dei filius, tunc est heres et per consequens habet hereditatem in regno Cristi et dei. Et sic creditur quod multi capitales secundum iudicium mundi sunt in ecclesia, non de illa. Ista igitur est ydolatria practica, qua fedatur ecclesia; et ad illam consequitur ydolatria et heresis multiplex circa sacramentum corpus Cristi; et omnia ista ex eodem fonte processerunt, cum secundum apostolum, *Radix omnium malorum est cupiditas*.

Sed attenderemus ad dictum beati Ambrosii in *de bono mortis*, dicentis quod "mors est mundi liberacio, virtutum suscitacio et a carcere ad quietem transicio."

Primum patet de morte Cristi. Pro secundo dicitur quod nichil plus valet ad domandum carnis desideria quam pensare qualis erit mortua; et tertium patet de

morte iustorum, per quam anima | liberatur de carcere corporis corrupti contubernio et coniungitur angelorum consorcio.

Sed ne timeamus hoc bonum, oportet mundum contempnere et circa spiritualia ac eterna contendere. Unde Cristus, Johannes 14, in proximo moriturus dixit: *Surgite, eamus hinc*, precipiens ut unusquisque

surgat de terris, erigat animam humi iacentem, ad superna excitet aquilam suam; illam aquilam, de qua dictum est: *Renovabitur sicut aquile iuventus tua*; ad animam hoc dictum est. Anima ergo nostra, sicut

aquila, alta petat, supra nubes volet, renovatis splendescat exuviis; celo volatus suos inferat, ubi in laqueos incidere non possit. Avis enim, que descendet ex alto, vel que in altum se extollere non potest, frequenter a laqueis

capitur aut visco fallitur, aut quibuscunque irretitur insidiis. Sic quoque et anima nostra caveat ad hec mundana descendere: laqueus est in auro, viscus in

argento, nexus in predio, clavus est in amore. Dum aurum petimus, strangulamur; dum argentum querimus

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in visco eius heremus; dum predium invadimus alligamur, to the detriment
 Quid inane querimus lucrum, preciose anime detrimento? of our soul,
 Exiguus est tibi totus mundus pro unius anime dispendio. which is greater
Quid enim prodest homini, si universum mundum lucretur, than the loss
anime vero sue detrimentum paciatur? Aut quam dabit of the world.
homo commutationem pro anima sua? And our
 non auro redimitur, whether lust, or
 non argento; ymo auro amittitur. Mulieris decus, dum grief or anger or
 temptatur, aufugit. Clavus est libido, clavus tristitia, any other, have
 clavus iracundia; clavi sunt omnes passiones, que velut the same effect.
 nexu quodam animam nostram penetrant et infigunt
 corpori visceribusque eius annectunt. Fugiamus ergo ista
 mala."

Ex ista obstinacia convincere potest fidelis, si prelatus This attachment
 vel laicus sit in crimine obstinatus. Domini enim tem- to things
 porales noscuntur esse inpenitentes ex consideracione temporal can be
 consimili. Si enim vere eis displiceat defedacio ecclesie, easily
 qua symoniace ministrant temporalia, ut Cristi primeva discovered, in
 religio dissolvatur, ut sancta mater ecclesia ab expedito secular lords
 cursu post sponsum distrahatur et ut perturbacio regno- by their
 rum et reipublice faveatur; quis dubitat quin illud indifference to
 celeriter corrigerent, cum possent faciliter; nec aliter the good of the
 fructuose vel meritorie peniterent. Nec valet fucus quo Church.
 fingitur quod finem istum non intendunt, sed honorem et
 profectum ecclesie; cum ista crassa ignorancia implicat eos
 velle mala predicta que debent cognoscere inde sequi. Aliter
 enim oportet concedere quod nullus apostata vult pec- To say that
 care. Debent autem temporales domini et reges precipue they intend
 non obstantibus anticristi legibus, de bonis cleri quorum God's honour
 sunt domini, ewangelice providere: hoc est, facere quod is a vain
 subterfuge;
 nec episcopi, nec rectores, nec propositi, nec abbates, their duty is
 habeant unum pedem predii vel redditus perpetui, sed not to allow
 pure vivant de elemosinis populi cui ministrant in any of the
 clergy to have
 a single foot of
 ground.
 in spiritualibus, et specialiter in ewangelio.

Et si allegentur tradiciones refuge vel iuramenta To all
 ydolatria sibi facta, dicant seculares concorditer cum arguments and
 oaths alleged,
 they should
 reply:
 Ps. 11, 3 sancto David psalmo 2º. *Disrumpamus vincula eorum* Let us break
et proiciamus a nobis iugum ipsorum. Qui habitat in their chains and
 throw away
 their yoke!

2. destrimentum B. 5. dabis B; dāb C. 6. homo deest BC; *ib.* tua BC.
 7. aurum A. 9. vere pro velut A. 10. nexū C; *ib.* nostram deest A;
ib. infigunt B. 16. de fedacione AB. 17. que A. 18. expeditur A.
 19. distrahitur B. 20. foveatur BC. 25. dicunt AB; *ib.* inde sequi
 deest C. 27. tales C. 28. antecristinis AC; *ib.* et ius de B. 30. re-
 positi AC.

8. *Auffugit.* St. Ambrose has *astringit*; I only note this reading
 among many on account of its importance.

These *chains*
are the
traditions by
which the
simple are
bound;
and the *yoke*
is the bond of
blind allegiance
to Antichrist.

Christ's life,
being the best,
should be the
model for the
clergy.
It is madness to
despise pure and
drink turbid
water;
our faith tells
us that we
should imitate
Christ's life.

But the enemy
is wroth at the
very mention of
loss of his
possessions;

He prevails on
princes to
despoil a foreign
Church; and if
they should do
that out of
charity, how
much more our
own Church,
which they
should love
more!

celis irridebit eos. Vincula eorum sunt traditiones quibus simplices laqueantur. Cum hiis enim et prediis contexta est tela aranee, in qua bestiole capiuntur, que gaudenter dicerent illud psalmi 133¹: *laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus.* Iugum autem est liga ceci iuramenti et devocionis blasfeme, qua principes et eorum subditi anticristo et suis complicitibus sunt subiecti. Oportet enim fidelem credere quod Cristus cum suis apostolis cepit sibi in conversacione bonum honoris et comodi, vivendo vitam summe pauperem et expropriariam. Contra quam si anticristus infideliter remurmuret, signent eum tamquam infidelem freneticum vel ex contagione infidelitatis gregis domini infectivum. Excuciant igitur principes a se infidelitatem istam refuge, et regulentur lege scripture, cum lex sit *immaculata*, qua anime fideles ad dominum convertuntur. Stultus inquam et infidelis foret, qui gratis biberet aquam turbidam et venenosam, despecta aqua salutifera atque clara. Fides autem dicit quod melius est sequi Cristum in moribus, cum aliter sit homo membrum diaboli et non clerus. Ideo ve illi qui pervertit ordinem dei propter stultam et insanam pruriginem anticristi!

Convincitur autem ex hoc quod foret rabidus, dum audit quod ad sui perfeccionem et exoneracionem sua temporalia subtrahuntur; et non minus furibundus insanit, dum audit perfeccionem suam salutiferam et honorem stare in vita penali et paupere instar Cristi. Consulit quidem et procurat quod principes sui spolient et crucient alienam ecclesiam; quod non potest fingere fieri pro verecundia fidei, nisi propter amorem quem principes habent ad ecclesiam alienam, quam tribulant, ut sic purgent; et tamen fingunt hoc fore in se ipsis (qui magis delinquant, et quos principes debent magis diligere et curare) crudele sacrilegium, non medelam. Talis autem apostotarum duplicitas turbat mundum; domini ergo temporales pro isto scelere, nisi fructuose peniteant, sunt dampnabiles ex consensu. |

1. et dominus subsanabit eos C. 4. 123 BC. 7. eorum C.
13. infideliter A; *ib.* dominici B; *ib.* infectum C. 15. scriptura C;
ib. fidelium BC. 18. clara atque C. 21. insaniam C. 23. ut
rapidus B. 27. staret B; *ib.* in *deest* B.

29. *Crucient.* Probably an allusion to the Crusade in Flanders, against the followers of the Antipope, Robert of Geneva.

CAPITULUM UNDECIMUM.

59^b Restat ulterius videre de dubiis concernentibus istam materiam. Et primo, si sit expedicius publice penitere. Et videtur, quod sic, quo ad penitentem. Nam quanto cum maiori pudore eque contritus penitet, de tanto est sua penitencia meritorior. Sed hoc fit comuniter de publica penitencia coram multis: ergo, comuniter talis penitencia foret meritorior, et sic expedicius. Minor patet per experienciam et rationem. Si enim peniteri coram unica persona sit ponderosum, foret cum paribus magis ponderosum penitere publice coram ipso et multis consorciis; cum penitenti sit evidens quod solitarius, audiens confessionem suam, sigillabit eam, nulli reserans nisi deo, non ut puniat, sed remittat; quod consilium non est ita evidens multitudini delectum.

Item, forma penitendi servanda exprimitur in lege nova vel veteri, cum omnis alia forma sit apocrypha, non a deo observanda; sed in utroque testamento fit mencio de penitencia publica, non privata; ergo, illa est potius observanda. Minor patet de Achan Josue 7^o, qui ex mandato Domini debuit seculari principi et populo confiteri. Et tantam evidenciam de confessione solitaria non audi. Et idem patet de beato Petro, qui *flendo* amare fructuose penituit. Paulus autem 1^o Thymoth. p^o. in scriptis publice confitetur quod fuit blasphemus. Papa etiam Marcellinus, martir gloriosus, post thurificationem diabolo confessus est publice peccatum suum fratribus suis et processit ad martirium, ut patet 21 dis. capitulo

Some questions concerning Penance.

1. Whether public penance is fitting.

The greater the shame endured, the more meritorious the penance; confession to many is still more painful than to one alone; and the penitent cannot be sure that a multitude will not disclose his sin.

Both the old and the New Law make mention of public penance, as in the case of Achan,

of Saint Peter,

and of Pope Marcellinus; while private confession is based on no such authority.

Matth.
XXVI,
75
1^o Tim.
I, 13

1. Cap. 11 in marg. B; deest A. 4. quo deest A; ib. punitatem A.
10. pudoroso BC. 11. pudoroso BC. 12. ipsa BC. 14. reservans B.
17. Ideo A. 20. non privata deest A; ib. igitur C. 21. Achor A;
Achan C. 22. Domini deest A. 25. Thess. 5 A. 26. confiteri A.
27. Marcellinus in marg. B.

Nunc autem. Confessio autem auricularis non ex tanta auctoritate vel utilitate legitur processisse.

It is granted that it is good to confess the same sins several times to different priests, on account of the greater confusion endured; if so, the same applies to public confession.

And if many priests can at the same time, in any sense, absolve a dead man, they can do so for a living man too.

And if several can absolve a living man, they can hear his confession.

Item, ut scola hodie fatetur concorditer, meritorium est iterum confiteri eadem peccata eciam dimissa, quociens uni sacerdoti vel pluribus fuerint publicata, et hoc potissime propter verecundam displicenciam de comisso: cum ergo tanta vel maior potest esse pudorosa displicencia pluribus publice confitendo, videtur iuxta primum argumentum quod nedum licitum sed meritorium est confiteri crimina coram multis: sic enim absolvunt multi et simul eandem personam iam mortuam, et per consequens licet eis simul in casu absolvere iam viventem. Sive enim per modum diffinicionis sive per modum rogacionis processerint multi sacerdotes absolvendo mortuum, tanta vel maior ratio est sic simul absolvere iam viventem. Ipse enim capacior est fructus talis absolucionis, cum multis videtur quod absolucio iam mortui quo ad delecionem criminis caret fructu.

Insuper videtur quod sicut licet pluribus sacerdotibus simul absolvere iam viventem, sic licet sibi simul illis omnibus confiteri; quia aliter absolucio foret indignior propter confessionem huiusmodi ex maiori fervore caritatis transfusam; et dicere quod illusionem irrationabili fundatur ecclesia, foret episcopos accusare. Sicut ergo licet successive detegere eandem confessionem multis presbiteris (et sic in casu notificare eandem culpam omni homini), sic et simul.

Wyclif, however, decides that no general rule can be laid down. The only point to be considered is the advantage of the penitent, the intensity of contrition, and the best remedy against a relapse. If this does not agree with ecclesiastical law, it agrees with the law of Christ.

Those who object to it must show that they

Hic videtur mihi quod pro neutra parte est generaliter regulandum; quia dum confitens de comisso magis conteritur et maius remedium apponitur de cavendis peccatis futuris vel de possibili comittendis, de tanto est confessio laudabilior, sive facta fuerit soli deo sive deo et militanti ecclesie, abscondite vel aperte. Et si dicatur quod ista sententia non consonat legi ecclesie, dicitur ex fide quod consonat Cristo, quia rationi et ecclesie triumphanti. Et si dicatur discordare ab ecclesia militanti, superest declarare, primo, quod illi a quibus discordat, sunt vera ecclesia; 2^o quod illi non in isto errant, sed in hoc fundacionem capiunt a scriptura; et

1. prodest si confitearis in marg. B. 5. replicata B. 6. verecundiam A. 7. igitur C; ib. puto'la A. 10. crimina deest B. 11. absolvent deest B; ib. et deest B. 14. per modum deest A. 16. est deest A. 17. tamen AB. 22. fervore A; fervore maiori C. 24. Sic igitur C. 27. inquit pro mihi C. 36. 2^o superest AB; Sed primo superest declarare primo C. 38. ex pro a B.

de tanto, sed non amplius, oportet fideles eis obedire. Et sic omnis obediencia reducenda est ad Christum abbatem ordinis cristiani; et alii blasfemi sunt tamquam refuge respuendi. Et si queratur, que confessio sit in maiori
 5 parte probabilior et scripture conformior: dicitur quod confessio generalis, ut patet ex dictis. Unde videtur quod diabolus, ut magis abscondat confessionis nequiciam, introduxit regulariter confessionem absconditam. Conceditur tamen quod quandoque expedit publice, quando-
 10 que abscondite, quandoque neutraliter, Cristi vicariis confiteri; et illam libertatem cristiani ordinis, tenendo semper religionem Cristi, debet catholicus observare.

Sed pars anticristi tantum adhuc prevalet, quod innititur isti porismati plus quam fidei: *ecclesia romana sic sentenciat*;
 15 ergo, *hoc tamquam articulus fidei est tenendum*. Et fallacia ista diaboli magis obnubilat fidem catholicam, cum multis videtur argumentum topicum: *Curia illa ex auctoritate sua illud sentenciat*: ergo, *hoc est perfidia anticristi*. Ideo cum manifestum sit ex fide, quod oportet in quocunque credibili
 20 supra illos rationem requirere, patet quod oportet quemcunque dicta illorum tamquam neutra postponere, vel contempnere ut suspecta; habemus enim fidem legis dei in copia, etsi non mendicemus peripsimata anticristi. Leges autem vel rationes opposite facilius sunt solvende. Vel enim
 25 equivocant de ecclesia romana, vocando illam pure Cristi et Petri vicarios, vel anticristive exercent simplices per traditiones proprias et fulmina, cum minis cesareis machinatis.

Habet autem ecclesia romana usum suum et ecclesia anglicana usum disparem, plus vel eque probabilem;
 30 nec sunt contrarii, dum inculpabiliter servaverint substantiam fidei cristiane; ut aliqui fideles capiunt eucaristiam specialiter die cene, et alii die Pasche. Primi sunt moti tripliciter: primo, quia Christus cum suis apostolis, quem debemus sequi omnino, illo die sacra-
 35 mentum illud primo instituit et comedit; 2º, quia propter duos dies sequentes est dies illa remocior a turbacione seculari et crapula die pasce, et 3º quia prior ecclesia, que prudencius, ita instituit. Scribitur enim in de Consecracione dist. 2º *in cena domini*: "A quibusdam recepcio

are of the Church, and follow scripture. Christ alone is to be obeyed. A general confession is most according to Holy Writ; private confession, as a law, is not so; yet sometimes it may be preferable to public confession, and sometimes not.

The side of Antichrist holds that whatever the Church of Rome decides is matter of faith; some think quite the contrary. Whenever no reason is given for any decision, it should be set aside or not noticed.

The fallacy is that the Roman Pontiff is called Christ's Vicar, and deludes the simple by his menaces.

The Churches of Rome and of England have different customs, not contrary, so long as they do not contradict the Christian faith. v. g. some take Holy Communion on Maundy Thursday, and some on Easter Sunday, for different reasons.

1. sed *deest* B. 3. *tocius ordinis* B. 4. *queritur* B. 11. *ut et A.*
 23. p. *ip̄ma* B; p. *ip̄ia* *in rasura post a C.* 27. *in pro et AC*; in B.
 29. *angelica A.* 30. *contrarie B*; *contraria AC.* 34. *deus A.* 38. *illam pro ita A*; *ita BC.* 38, 39. *in de 9. § 2ª A.*

23. *Peripsimata*. Cf. Sermones II, 297, l. 21, 1 Cor. IV, 13.
 39. Decr. Grat. 3ª Pars, De Cons. Dist. II, c. 17.

eukaristie negligitur, que quoniam in eodem die ab omnibus fidelibus (exceptis his quibus pro gravibus casibus inhibitum est) percipienda sit, ecclesiasticus usus demonstrat, cum etiam penitentes eodem die ad percipienda corporis et sanguinis dominici sacramenta 5 reconcilientur." Hec Sother papa, cuius evidencia vel auctoritas non est minor quam dictum Fabiani ibidem:

A Canon exists in favour of the former practice, which has as much value as any subsequent decree.

Augustine leaves the faithful free to communicate every day, advising weekly communion.

Ambrose, inviting the faithful to take spiritual communion continually, says; "Let us not, like the Pharisees, bind ourselves to the observance of days, but follow reason". And though it be commanded to communicate on Easter Sunday, we should not do so if we have a sufficient reason; which may be that our devotion prompted us to take communion on Maundy

Et si non frequencius; vel dictum Innocencii 3ⁱⁱ in 5^o decretalium: Omnes utriusque sexus; quia tunc ad religiones privatas secundum erimoniarum observancias 10 nimium declinarunt. Unde patet quod tradere de isto regulas generales est presumptive stulticie.

Ideo Augustinus ibidem dicit: "Cottidie eukaristie comunione accipere nec laudo nec vitupero; omnibus tamen diebus dominicis communicandum hortor." Et 15 infra: "Dixit quispiam non cottidie accipiendam eukaristiam, alius affirmat cottidie. Faciat unusquisque quod secundum fidem suam pie credit esse faciendum." Et ponit exemplum de Zacheo et centurione. Item ostenditur in dicto beati Ambrosii eukaristiam esse spiri- 20 tualiter continue assumendam. "Si quocienscunque effunditur sanguis Cristi in remissionem peccatorum effunditur, deo semper accipere, qui semper peto medicinam; ne itaque simus de numero eorum quos Cristus dicit quod *colant culicem et degluciant camelum*, non preponderemus 25 dies vel tempora, sed quodcumque ratio ducit nos accipere eukaristiam vel facere opus quodcumque meritum, faciamus." Et ita, licet succedens episcopus romanus preceperit sub pena gravi cunctos fideles adultos in die pasche recipere eukaristiam annuatim, verum, 30 inquam, est, quod sic debent facere, nisi ratio excuset. Ratio autem sufficiens est multis fidelibus quod die cene, quando fuit eis devocius, manducarunt. Et si allegatur obediencia servanda pape: moveat illud claustrales, qui observant cerimonias sui privati ordinis 35 preter necessarie introducti. Nos autem teneamus libertatem primevam legis Cristi, scilicet ut non simus

1. qm A. 14. non laudo accipere C. 17, 18. secundum quod A. 22. in testimonium et in C; ib. Cristi deest C. 26. conduit B. 37. ut deest C.

8. Decr. Grat. 3^a Pars, De Cons. Dist. II, c. 16. 9. See p. 112. 13. Decr. Grat. 3^a Pars, De Cons. Dist. II, c. 13. 21. Decr. Grat. De Cons. Dist. II, c. 14.

oppressi iugo iudayco. In neutris vero nobis condescendamus populo cum quo vivimus.

Thursday;
for we follow
Christ's law in
liberty.

Sed gradus persone, evidencia sue consciencie, ac cetera rationales circumstantie sunt pensande; ut si
5 ipsum moveat devocio et impulsio spiritus communicari singulariter die cene, quis papa vel cardinalis vel lex quam statuit, prohiberet? Sed esto quod insane decreverint quod sub quantacunque pena inventa quilibet
eis obediat, faciendo quod ipsi imperant, ut sic eorum
10 potestas appareat: certum est quod ipsi non habent potestatem hanc legem statuere; sed usurpacione supposita, fidelis debet pro observacione libertatis Cristi hoc iugum scribarum secure dirumpere, ut patet
Act. 15^o, ex decreto apostolorum. Ideo, exigendo talem
15 obedienciam, debent fundare saltem eius consonanciam legi Cristi. Modo autem multa sunt neutra et possunt bene fieri vel omitti; et tamen legem statuere quod hoc fiat regulariter sub gravi pena, excedit humanam potenciam. Immo hoc temptans incurrit blasphemiam; et in
20 isto laborant propter extorquendam luciferinam obedienciam multi prepositi ordinum privatorum. Non negatur tamen quin licet in talibus neutris unam partem eligere socialiter ex consensu. Sed statuere legem condicionalem eternam vel universalem ante statuentem, excedit humanam potenciam; et extollens statuentem supra deum,
25 confirmat blasphemiam. Quis, inquam, potest statuere, quod si quis religiosus mutat habitum ab albo in nigrum, a cappa in tunicam, sic de aliis ritibus per quos religiosi nostri ut per esenciales differencias distinguuntur? Cum,
30 inquam, talis veritas connexionis sit absolute necessaria et eterna, et sic supra omnem ordinacionem humanam, subiacens soli ordinacioni divine; vel sit simpliciter impossibilis: tunc non potest esse vel al aliquo ordinari. Quicumque in sectis ordinacionem talem defenderit est
35 hereticus plus vel minus. Si autem statuerit quod quicumque sic vel sic fecerit sit taliter puniendus in idem

The Pope has
no power to
lay down rules
in this manner,
and he ought to
be disobeyed by
way of
protestation;

for though what
he commands
may be
neither right
nor wrong, yet
he exceeds his
power by such
a law and such
penalties,
though it is
allowable on
neutral points
to agree to act
together.

To make the
law universal
and eternal is
wrong; as v. g.
to make of the
habit of the
Orders an
essential
difference
between them;
what is
essential does
not belong to
human
ordinance.

1. introducto C. 1. 2. condescendamus C. 4. rationabiles B; rōnales C.
5. quem BC. 8. invenis omnes MSS. 13. dirrupere C. 14. exigentes B.
18. fuit A; fiant B. 21. negant C. 22. tamen deest AC. 25. excellens B;
ib. statuentem deest B. 28. ab albo A; a capo B. 29. d. v̄ir A.
30. que communis AB. 31. tunc pro et sic A. 32. si pro connexionis;
ib. fit C. 36. statuerit ac fecerit C.

27. *Habitum*. See *De Apostasia*, pp. 3, 4.

Suppose that Innocent had ordained that it was a mortal sin to take Communion on Good Friday, it would have been blasphemy on his part.

Any act that God allowed us to do or not to do, might thus be forbidden, and man could give commands which God cannot.

If God were to approve all such commands, we should return to the servitude of the Old Law.

Should Robert of Geneva make a law, and Urban VI a contrary one, God would be obliged to ratify both, and punish and reward for the same act.

redit, cum sit eadem sententia. Ut, posito quod papa Innocencius tercius | statuerit quod quicumque laicus communicatus fuerit die parasceves, non in pascha, peccet mortaliter et sic graviter puniatur, blasfemat indubie, hereticans fideles et papas qui hoc non servarunt in ecclesia primitiva. Sed quid stulcius? cum lex talis universalis foret supra vires hominum, ymmo supra rationem, et per consequens supra deum; et sic foret quolibet talis statuicio venenosa.

Et istud confirmatur ex hoc quod ante talem statuicionem foret quodcunque tale opus ex dei ordinancia liberum atque neutrum, sed post statuicionem talem, ut fingitur, est opus dampnabile, et eius oppositum ad meritum limitatum: ergo, subiacet statuicioni humane taliter ordinare, quod videtur deo non posse competere; quomodo ergo liceret illiberare opus dei, quod eternaliter ordinavit esse sic liberum? Item, si opus tale incipit esse dampnabile, cum talis instituens non de facto extollitur supra deum, oportet deum verum ex statuicione servili gravare tempore gracie legem pene: quod repugnat rationi libertatis et bonitatis divine. Que, rogo, libertas in deo, quod necessitetur propter statuicionem de possibili anticristi punire servum suum severius sine causa? Anticristus autem, legem istam stabiliens, petit hoc metricum proprium soli deo: *Sic volo, sic iubeo; sit pro ratione voluntas*. Item, possibile est quod sicut in talibus neutris duo statuentes contrarie (nec est ratio, quare unus, quin per idem uterque) inniti debet ut statuicio sua robur habeat, et sic deus contradictoria approbaret. Summum itaque miraculum, sed summe monstruosum, foret simul tempore gravare et facilitare eadem opera. Ut si gilbonensis statuatur quod omnis fidelis communicabitur die parasceves, non in pascha, et Urbanus noster statuatur, quod solum in die pentecostes vel alio quocunque, et uterque annectat penam spirituale, patet quod non maior foret necessitas in dicta

1. reddit C; *ib.* quod C; *ib.* eadem *deest* B. 2. tercius *deest* BC.
4. tunc *pro* et sic B. 5. *fruan't* = servaverunt C. 10, 11. institu-
cionem B. 14. *after* meritum *blank space*, *tñ* B. 15. non posse deo C.
19. verum *deest* B. 22. que C. 25. proprium soli *deest* C.
27. sint B. 32. opera dei BC; *ib.* gibbonensis B. 34. petechosten (*sic*) A;
pethecostes C. 36. quid A.

15. *Non posse competere*. Because it is impossible to suppose God leaving us no action that we are free to make or not to make.
25, 26. Juvenal. Sat. VI, l. 223. *Hoc volo, sic iubeo*, etc.

- lege Innocencii IIIⁱⁱ, quam in istarum altera vel utraque. Ideo non dubium quin leges tales sunt plene blasfemia; ut sicut dicitur deum non preordinasse penam pro peccato Lini antequam papa vel alius ydiota iniunxerit; sic dicitur quod pena pro tali opere non est rationalis antequam papa statuerit taliter faciendum esse sub tanta pena, et postea deus consequitur confirmando. Et eadem est consideratio de sectis privatis, que usibilia statuunt sub anathemate non sic uti. Ideo, ut sepe dixi, multa observata ut regule privatorum ordinum sapiunt blasphemiam et heresin manifestam. Cum igitur deus Act. X, dicit Petro, Act. 10. *Quod deus purificavit, tu ne comune dixeris*, qua fronte presumeret refuga per quem nullius religionis sumpsit exordium pro lege universali vel condicionali statuere quod vesci non libet et tegumentis non licet uti taliter sub hac pena? Honoremus igitur solum religionem institutam a domino veritatis.
- F. Sed contra istud instatur quod non licet vovere quidquam facere, nec cristiano statuta edere, nec pape cum aliquo dispensare. Sed primum dicitur negando assumptum. Conceditur tamen quod oportet in omni voto humano subintelligi condicionem, *si deus voluerit*, ut patet alibi. Quando autem quis fatue vovet preter vel contra religionem cristianam, debet statim dimittere et de stulticia penitere. Nec licet concedere novas leges propter talem stulticiam obligandi, quia sic liceret a religione Christi totaliter variare, et totum genus neutrorum, vel quod Christus dictavit esse licitum ex voto et religione facere non licere. Absit ergo Cristianum presumere ut statucione sua stolidam negacio, que vis vel veritas connexionis incipiat, ymo quin liberius potest homo post progressum in religione Christi quicquid facere quod prius potuit, si non obsit apostasia implicans quod in deterius retrocedit. Deus autem facit, non quod talis non potest licite facere tale opus, sed quod modo est sibi illicitum taliter operari. Et sic talis actus non est sibi neuter, nec forte aliquis umquam fuit; sed credere quod ex nuda ordinatione humana opus sit criminis quod aliunde foret meritorium, sapit Anticristi blasphemias; cum oportet illum in cuius manu sunt vicissitudines
- Or: a given act is not punishable by God, so long as the Pope has not ordained so; but so soon as he has, God inflicts punishment.
- In the Rules of the private Orders, many such blasphemies are to be found.
- Objections: If this doctrine be true, 1. no vows are right; 2. no Christian can make laws; 3. and the Pope has no dispensing power. 1. In every vow there is the tacit condition of God's approval; without which it ought to be broken. No laws should therefore be made to oblige such vows to be kept. A Christian in following his religion is freer than he was before, unless he becomes a backslider. The unlawfulness of any action forbidden by vow consists in God not allowing him to do it for the time.

3. sic C. 14. sufficit *pro* sumpsit C. 20. dispesare A. 27. variari AB.
 31. post *pro* potest A. 33. apostota impleciones quidem A; implicitas
 quod B. 34. aut C. 35. non modo AC. 36. Tunc B; *ib.* ibi A.
 38. unica B. 39. anticristus blasphemians A.

But to make a
crime out of a
deed, good in
itself, is
madness; God
alone gives
increase of
virtue.

2. and 3. Laws
are allowable,
and so are
dispensations,
provided they
follow
Scripture.

But laws are
now multiplied
without
foundation in
Holy Writ;
such should not
be obeyed,
and in general,
as every law
diminishes
Christian
liberty, none
should be made
without grave
reasons.

II. Whether the
secret of
confession
should be
always kept.

temporum dare crementum virtutum. Et sic statuere vel
vovere irrationabilia, foret luciferina demeneia; vovere
neutra foret illibertans stulticia: sed vovere religiosa,
cum sint in scriptura sacra implicita, foret prudencia
faciens quod voluntas dei sit propensius executi. Sed
longe a peccatoribus et dictas leges infames statuere
ex hoc quod licet opus tercii modi prudenter
vovere.

Et sic dicitur ad secundum et 3^m, quod licet statuta
condere et cum ligatis irrationabiliter dispensare, dum
tamen lex scripture sit exemplar ad dirigendum talia
opera sapienter. Numquam autem sunt ipsa licita, nisi
deus prius illa fecerit approbando. Ideo apostoli nichil
fecerunt, nisi ex inspiracione divina, ex Cristi consilio,
vel sorte a deo propter meritum sortiencium regulata.
Sed hec ratio fuit in primitiva ecclesia, quando emer-
gebat casus necessitans. Sed modo ceci prepositi audenter
multiplicant leges quas nesciunt stabilire. Ideo fideles
debent ipsas non admittere vel temere admissas excu-
tere, et de lege ac religione Cristi, dimissis aliis, con-
tenteri. In aliis autem levibus debet fidelis modos
licitos 2^m comunem dei influenciam observare, et non
illibertando dei ecclesiam pro quocunque facto legem
statuere. Lex enim dicitur a *ligando*, et non debet statui
nisi in arduis, ut consiliis ewangelicis et preceptis; et
sic lex ewangelica per se sufficit sine plure. Tradiciones
autem et statuta localia, cum phas et nephas plurimum
sunt permixta. Ideo perfecti viri ipsa vel negligunt, vel,
lege dei attenta sedule, parvipendunt.

Sed 2^o principaliter arguitur de clavibus vel sigillo
confessionis, quod licet in multis casibus confessionem
detegere. Probatur primo racionabilitas eius ex utraque
parte legis dei docentis quod debet esse publica et per

4. implicata foret prudencia faciens C. 6. saltare A. 7. opera BC.
9. primum B. 12. sapientis C. 15. regulatam A. 19. admissionem A.
23. Christi BC. 26. plica (sic) C. 27. plurium AB. 28. non
pro vel before negligunt A. 31. conf'oniū C. 33. parte deest BC;
ib. lege BC.

30. *Sigillo*. It is known that Roman Catholic doctrine is very
absolute on this point. The priest out of confession may not
even *think* of what has been said in confession; so much so that
it is unanimously held that a priest, made aware in confession
that an assassin intends to waylay him on a journey, may not
put off the journey, nor take any precautions which he would not
otherwise have taken! This may serve to mark the independent
point of view taken by Wyclif on the subject.

consequens multis cognita. Ille ergo qui pluribus revelat confitibile non reserat nisi detegendum; quod licet bene facere, sicut deus pandet in finali iudicio, et Petrus publicavit, Act. 5. de Anania et Zaphira. Non enim
5 videtur ratio istius malicie, nisi quod fideles subtrahant a confessione auriculari intendentes confessioni publice vel confessioni quam facerent fructuose soli deo; quod videtur nedum tollerabile sed legale.

Item lex dei et comunis utilitas necessitant peccata
10 confessa private esse a confessore populo detegenda; ergo lex generaliter statuens oppositum est iniqua. Antecedens videtur; posito quod quis confiteatur Petro private de prodicione populi, vel homicidio committendo, et licet promittat Petro, quod non vult facere facinus
15 cuius propositum confitetur, appareat tamen Petro ex signis evidentibus, quod prius confitens perverse redierit ad propositum predictum facinus committendi, tunc videtur ratione multiplici, quod talis confessio sit detegenda; primo, quia caritas ad confessum urget crimen suum
20 excludere, quod supposito aliter commodius non posse fieri quam publicandum nephandum propositum. Et idem patet ex parte populi prodendi, cui confessor iuratur, et amitteret a sibi probabile maius bonum celando. Et ex parte Petri videtur quod propter accu-
25 mulandum sibi meritum, paciendo mortem propter honorem dei et utilitatem ecclesie prodendo, in casu facinus impediret. Nam non tanta pena est iniuncta, quanta foret quecunque dei offensa.

Item, contigit sacerdotem errasse in audiendo con-
30 fessionem laici, et de illo errore quotquot presbiteris pro securitate et merito confiteri. Cum ergo ad confessionem huiusmodi requiritur in casu peccati primi laici detectio, videtur quod licet in casu multiplici peccata detegere. Si enim multi istorum sacerdotum
35 fuerint post modum degradati, vel percepti ordines indebite percepisse, quomodo non posset primum peccatum per presbiterum fore licite populo publicatum? Ut ponitur in casu quo confessor cadat in phrenesim, vel morbum alium, in oblivionem, vel loquacitatem, in
40 sompno, et sic peccatum confessi publicetur.

The Bible, always mentioning public confession, implies the contrary. To reveal the secret of confession is but to make known now what will be known at the last Day; and it would have a good effect, injuring the practice of auricular confession. Besides, if a man, having confessed an intended murder or act of treason, and it being clear to his confessor that he again intends to commit such a crime, it is the confessor's duty, for the correction of the penitent, for the good of the intended victim, and for his own good, exposing himself to deadly peril for God's sake, to reveal the fact. A priest may err in dealing with a penitent, and confess his fault to several priests, and thus be obliged to reveal his penitent's sin: if this is legal, then sins may be revealed. Or take the cases of madness, delirium, forgetfulness, talkativeness, or speaking in one's sleep: then confessions are revealed.

1. pluribus *deest* C. 13. propositi *pro* populi B. 14. vlt C.
16. redigerit A. 20. suppo^o C. 28. offensio C. 34. enim *deest* B.
35. p. modu C. 36. suscepisse B. 37. populo *deest* A. 39. in *before*
oblivionem *deest* B.

And if it be
answered that
they may be
revealed in
general terms,
inadvertently, or
by the express
will of God:
then what is the
good of a law
so indefinite?

Si dicatur quod licet generalibus verbis peccata detegere, et ubi oblivio premuniendi est forcior, ac 3^o in casu quo deus necessitet ad in casibus positis exprimendum: ad quid, rogo, valet lex tam artis penis astricta, et nulla sui particula explanata? Revera perinde 5 est ac si lex ista non foret posita, cum verbis generalibus, signis preter verba, et taciturnitate vel nutu contingit populum multa satis cognoscere. Vel quis presbiter accusatus de isto nesciret subterfugia reperire? aut quis presbiter, hec detegens, non foret necessitatus ista depro- 10 mere? cum scimus quod omnia que evenient de necessitate evenient.

Under cover of
this law, sins
may go
unpunished, and
priests put into
difficulties,
sinners coming
to confess to
those very
priests whose
duty it is to
convict them.

Item, secundum cautelam huius legis possent peccata H foveri et presbiteri intricari; nec est fundamentum vel fructus ad huius legis edicionem necessitans. Ideo in 15 causa sue originis est suspecta. Quilibet enim subditus prelato posset exigere confessionem ab eo et inter alia dicere sibi crimen de quo prelatus ipsum argueret; et sic clauderetur os eius, ne liceat sibi arguere, licet videat ipse offerre ad periurium vel fidelem falsissime 20 convincendum. Cautela quidem diaboli precluderet ne presbiter testimonium perhibeat necessarie veritati; necessitatus enim confessor iurare alteram partem, iuraret cum diabolo falsitatem, et per consequens contra veritatem ipsam tegeret et foveret. 25

To hide sins is
thus a sacrament
of the devil;

Magnum itaque sacramentum in absconsione peccati vel sue delecionis, per quod honor dei et utilitas ecclesie lucescerent in effectu! Tale indubie foret sacramentum patris mendacii. Sed thobie 12: *Sacramentum regis abs- 30*
condere bonum est; opera autem dei revelare et
confiteri honorificum est. Cum igitur singulare opus dei sit peccata dimittere, patet antecedens; ymmo confessus daret gloriam deo, veritatem sui facinoris publicando. Quomodo ergo confessor suus foret sibi in hoc contrarius post vel ante? vel ymmo, fatendo quod quis est con- 35
fessor alterius, cum peccatum suum publicum sit (et supponi debet quod quilibet sit memor sic salutis sue

the penitent
should publish
his sins to the
glory of God.
When a man is
a public sinner,
any priest
saying: *I am
his confessor*,
implicitly

2. \widehat{pmu}^d (?) A; premundi B; \widehat{pmu}^d endi C.
lex B. 5. propositum A. 11. eveniunt AC.
18. tunc B. 22. ecclesie C. 33. gulam A.

3. ca^o A. 4. tunc
14. intrari omnes MSS.
37. sic before salutis
deest B.

11, 12. This is a well-known sophism alluded to in *Logicae Continuatio*, now publishing. *Omnia que evenient de necessitate, evenient*; or: *Omnia que evenient, de necessitate evenient*.

omnia perfecte et integre confitendo) fatetur implicate se audivisse omnia illa facinora | a confesso. Sive igitur confessi sive populus iniuriatus insurgat contra confessores huiusmodi, deficeret in hoc, eis mortuis, causa dei. Debent enim secundum doctrinam Cristi, Matth. 18, ter prudenter corripere et 4^a vice deserere. Ideo evidens est quod fratres, per multos annos remanentes affectuose confessores hominum qui non resipiscunt sed potius peiorantur, consenciant suo facinori, et proditorie nutriunt contra Cristum. Mille sunt casus in quibus deficit hoc legis principium, quia stabilitur super confessione abscondita, que est toxicum fundamentum.

Videtur ergo quod confessio secreta, sicut quodcunque secretum aliud, servata prudencia, sit celandum; nec video magnam devocionem vel delectacionem in sic audiendo confessiones privatas. Sed postquam cessavit predicacio publica gignitiva filiorum dei in Cristo, fuit ista auricularis confessio instinctu diaboli introducta. Ille autem studeat glosare hanc legem et solvere rationes, qui delectatur in ea, et non videt quod in fide scripture esset meritorium laborandum. Meritorium quidem est detegere fallacias istas diaboli. Quilibet cristianus debet confiteri deo et ecclesie, sicut homines debent confiteri alterutri. Ymmo homo debet in casu confiteri private prudenti presbitero et facere secundum suum consilium; ergo debet ut lex statui quod omnis homo habens discrecionem et scienciam, debet semel in anno confiteri omnia peccata sua auriculariter proprio sacerdoti, Petro quidem, et in persona sua ecclesie. Sed specialiter sacerdoti data est potestas ligandi et solvendi, cum tamen paverit oves Cristi de suo pabulo, ut dicitur Joh. ult., et ligaverit vel solverit conformiter ecclesie triumphanti; et aliter nichil sibi, et dico ad Petrum vel omnes apostolos, cum aliter non sit de numero eorum quibus Christus locutus est. Probabile quidem videtur, quod solum eis concessit Cristus hanc potestatem, qui docent fidem Cristi de predestinatis vel reprobis, et sedebunt in die iudicii super sedes, iudicantes 12 tribus Israel.

admits that his sins, have been made known to him.

A priest should remonstrate three times with his penitent, and at the fourth relapse, abandon him; not (as many Friars do) remain his friend and confessor during years of impenitence.

The secret of confession should be kept, like all others, according to the rules of prudence.

A summary of Wyclif's doctrine on Confession: it should be made to God, to the Church and privately to a proper priest representing the Church.

But if the latter should not feed Christ's flock, the promises made to the Apostles were not made to him; they are probably for those who teach the doctrine of predestination and reprobation.

1. implicate erasum C. 2. confessore C. 4. illis B; *ib.* mortis AB.
5. Nota confessores debent suos confessos quarta vice obstinatos deserere in marg. B. 6. *et* A. 7. p. *pro* per A; *ib.* affectuosa A. 14. servatur A.
19. et in marg. A. 23. dicunt A. 24. alterutrum omnes MSS.
27. sufficienciam BC. 28. omnia deest B. 30. sacerdotum A. 31. aves A.
32. ecclesie twice C.

Illi enim erunt perpetuo ligati vel soluti in celis, cum tam angeli quam homines beati videbunt clare equitatem divine sentencie, et gaudebunt de eius perpetuitate. Et sic viri apostolici filios suos in beatitudinem introducent, sive heremite sive simplices sive sacerdotes, eo alcius quo copiosius et perfeccius hic predestinacionis filios genuerunt. Unde tales in Petro ligant et solvunt super terram, quando dant arras ligacionis vel solucionis finalis perpetue. Et claves regni est potestas vel sciencia sic arrandi adversus quas porte *inferi* (prescitorum peccata vel predestinatorum secundum presentem iniusticiam) *non prevalebunt*; quia tunc iniquitas diaboli foret forcior dei iusticia. Ista autem operacio clavium non consequitur eleccionem vel ordinacionem humanam de quocunque Romano pontifice, sed ordinacionem divinam secundum opera Cristi vicarii virtuosa.

The key of Heaven is their science in this matter.

And this 'power of the keys' comes direct from Christ.

It is a heresy to say that every sentence of the Pope on earth is confirmed in Heaven.

All apostolic men have the power of binding and loosing, but this is not a subject for ostentation;

all honour should be given to God.

III. Several other problems.
1. Is it enough to do penance whilst in a state of mortal sin?

Et patet quante diabolus seduxit populum, subversione divine sentencie in hoc dicto. Construit enim Anticristus quod quicquid romanus pontifex sentenciat de pena vel premio, oportet omnino quod in celestibus compleatur. Et ex hac heresi pululant blasfemie infinite. Veritas, inquam, est quod ubicunque terrarum quis fuerit conversus ad deum, sive precise per deum, sive per quemlibet eius ministrum, correspondenter ad meritum participabit et premio. Viris autem apostolicis sine acceptione personarum concessit deus potestatem subtrahendi et promovendi ad talia, dum tamen conformantur divino iudicio, sicut conformatur triumphans ecclesia. Nec debet quis pompare de tali potencia, quia eius effectus est sibi absconditus, cum deus ante vel post vel impertinenter absolucioni humane vere absolvit. Ideo, ut dicit angelus, thobie. 12, absconsa magnificencia humana totus honor debet patule dari deo. Et ista est sententia Augustini cum aliis sanctis, licet hodie de potestate clavium et dimissione peccati nimum blasfemetur.

3^o principaliter queruntur dubia. Primo si sufficit hominem facere penitenciam, dum fuerit in mortali. Et constat quod non, cum existens in mortali, quidquid

4. vere A. 5. 3rd sive *deest* A. 7. gen't AC. 9. perpetuo A.
10. parte A; *ib.* parte inferri C; *ib.* peccatorum A. 17. per subversionem BC.
18. autem Cristus A. 22. quis *deest* C; *ib.* after fuerit qui C.
23. quod A; quelibet C. 25. apostolis AB. 25, 26. persone B.
26. subarrandi B. 29. affectus A. 31. absolucionem humanam B;
post absolucionem vere C. 36. Nota in marg. A. 37. i morli A.

fecerit, peccat mortaliter; multum tamen prodest facere bona de genere. Nam in predestinato preparat ad satisfaccionem finalem; in prescito vero parvificat penam, cum maiorem alias possideret. Et ad obiectum quo dicitur in fine confessionis primo peccatum remitti, et sic valeret confessio in mortali; patet quod antecedens non probatur, cum psalmo 31^o dicitur: *Dixi: confitebor adversum me iniusticiam meam domino; et tu remisisti iniquitatem peccati mei*. Multorum enim peccata sunt remissa, qui non taliter confessi sunt. Ideo, sicut in materia de eucharistia nesciunt satrape quando panis sit corpus Christi, sic nesciunt instans quo quis absolvitur a peccato; sed ab omni mortali suo reperto pro infusione gracie simul absolvitur. Et contingit quod absolutio errare faciat. Contingit autem, quod occasionaliter faciat promereri. Venialia autem peccata remanent in quantumlibet confitente, cum remanserant in Petro et Johanne eciam post missionem spiritus sancti. Ideo musitant magnificantes claves, errantes, quomodo absolutio non delet veniale, cum existens in pure veniali teneatur sub pena mortalis secundum formam impositam confiteri, et dicere quod confessio delet aliquod veniale et non quotlibet quod invenitur, est infundabilis ficticia; sicut irrationabiliter fingitur quod indulgentia delet 3^{am} vel 4^{am} partem penitencie, quantumcumque varie, secundum quod anticristus voluerit limitare.

2^o dubitatur si homo sub obtentu premii tenetur multociens confiteri eadem peccata, et quando cessaret; cum confessio mentis ad deum debet esse continua. Sed non haberem subditum sic opinantem, cum superflue vexaret se et prepositum, dimitteret opus debitum, et accumularet sibi penitenciam per repetitionem replicatum inutilem; cum nec deleret culpam, nec augeret graciā, sed tolleret fructum operis rationabiliter interim faciendi.

Sed 3^o dubitatur si confessus sit ad optionem positus facere solum penitenciam iniunctam vel aliam quamcunque,

No: for in that state every act is mortal sin. But good deeds may be done with fruit; in the elect, they prepare for complete satisfaction; in the castaway, they lessen the punishment. Absolution cleanses from all mortal sins.

Venial sins are not effaced, notwithstanding arguments to the contrary.

2. Whether the continual repetition of the same sins in confession is profitable. Negated; it is useless loss of time.

3. Whether the penitent is held to accomplish

2. bona deest A; ib. Ex C; ib. preparat BC. 7. 13 B. 8. 9. etc. Pro iniusticiam — mei deest A. 13. de A. 13. 14. visione B. 15. occasio A. 19. musicant C; ib. errone B; erronee C. 23. invenit C. 27. 3^o A. 30. hō A; habere B; hrem = haberem C. 31. sed Pro se A; ib. delatum A. 35. 2^o AC; ib. positus A. 36. q^mq^m A.

5. I think the meaning of this somewhat obscure passage is that sins are forgiven only (primo) at the end of confession (by absolution); against which Wyclif brings the words of Ps. XXXI. (l. 7—9).

the penance prescribed, or not: logical subtleties by which this question may be debated, and which are insoluble.

4. Whether there is not a certain spiritual kinship between the confessor and his penitent; Wyclif decides that there is, but leaves Antichrist to answer the difficulties that arise on this point.

5. Whether a man can be twice guilty of the very same sin. For a 'foreknown' will be punished for all his sins, and yet he may during his life have repented of them: the same sins must therefore return. Yet it is not strictly the same sin: the matter is

vel quantum licet variare. Et videtur logicis quod sacerdos iniungit penitenciam, sed nullam iniungit; sicut scit confessum suum dignum pena, sed nulla pena scit ipsum esse dignum. Nam cum pena individuatur a tempore et quotlibet aliis causis suis, nec confitens nec confessus sciret notare penitenciam iniunctam, et periret clavis sciencie. Et sophista confessus diceret: non teneor facere penitenciam mihi iniunctam, quia nulla est michi iniuncta: nec communis penitencia, iuxta quam foret alia exurgenda, quia in illa foret tanta perplexitas sicut in quacunque materia. Et ita videtur per sacramentum infundabile perplexitas insolubilis introducta.

4^o dubitatur si ex tali paternitate et filiacione sit spiritualis affinitas, et quomodo se habet ad alias. Ymmo videtur quod non solum est data sacerdoti licencia coniugandi sed ut modo stat irrationabiliter, gravatur occasio delinquendi. In isto et similibus relinquo antichristo solucionem et fundacionem dictorum, sciens quod inter sacerdotem et suum conversum est quedam spiritualis paternitas; ymmo inter Cristum et suos filios, cum Matth. 12^o scribitur: *Quicumque fecerit voluntatem patris mei, qui in celis est, ipse meus frater, et soror, et mater est*; frater secundum spiritum, soror secundum carnem, et mater secundum naturam compositam. Deus autem reservat sibi [secundum] quandam preeminentiam nomen patris.

5^o obicitur si eadem peccata in numero redeunt. Et videtur quod sic, quia prescitus dampnabitur pro quocumque peccato quod fecerit; cum ergo multa per penitenciam sunt deleta, sequitur conclusio. Si enim homo dampnabitur pro illo peccato quod non est, tunc homo dampnabitur pro nichilo, et omne peccatum esset peccatum finalis inpenitencie; eo, quod nullum peccatum accelerari, breviari poterit vel tardari, et falsa esset prophetica Ezech. 3^o. Quantum ad istud dicitur quod peccatum potest dici idem in numero quoad materiam et subiectum, vel quoad tempus, materiam et subiectum. Sic autem, stricte loquendo, non reddit idem peccatum

Matth. XII 50

Ezech. III, 18

4. cum deest A. 6. foret A. 8, 9. mihi — iniuncta deest C.
10. exemplanda AC. 14. illas alias C. 16. stat vel gravatur irrationabiliter B; stat irrationabiliter gravatur C; ib. gravaretur B. 22, 23. etc.
pro patris — mater est A. 23, 2^m A. 23, 24. 2^m A. 25. secundum deest omnes MSS. 29. quidem A. 31. 32. illo — pro deest C.
35. 3^o deest; a gap C. 38. reddit C.

in numero, cum individuatur a tempore, vel quo ad terminos suos, vel quo ad successionem motus in quo consistit. Sed primo modo reddit idem peccatum, ut loquitur scriptura. Peccatum eciam potest diu remanere vel in suo fructu ut pena, vel formaliter, et primo modo peccatum idem reddit, et remanet perpetuo in dampnato, ut patet de peccato finalis inpenitencie. Multa autem locuta de peccatis dependent super logica et metaphisica; et nisi ut obturent Anticristos utile est tractare.

3. primo modo reddit peccatum idem reddit C; *ib.* modo *twice* A.
 3—6. ut loquitur — reddit et *deest* A. 8. logica *pro* locuta A; loguta
 (sic) C; *ib.* super *deest* A. 9. obtineret anticristus A.

CAPITULUM DUODECIMUM.

The present chapter deals with rural deans.

Deans in monasteries have more pride; but all are alike by their greed.

They make much money out of the sin of lust, and being themselves most prone to such sins, punish most severely; which is diabolical malice.

Their Superiors prefer to appoint such, because they know better how to wring money out of the people.

And they provoke to sin, in order to increase their riches.

Habito generali sermone de penitencia et confessione, A. restat cavendum ne isti quinque tortores fune excomunicacionem infideliter funesta trica diaboli. Et suppositis dictis de archidiacono et officiali, restat de decano 5 rurali, 6^o tortore, aliud perstringendum.

In decano autem monasteriali iacet maior sophisticacio et maior superbia. Comune autem est omnibus istis propter questum subrogari et in superiorum officiis sophisticare censuras, et false tractare subiectos omni genere criminis anticristi. Specialiter autem spoliant pro peccato luxurie tam clerum quam laicos: et comunitur illi qui peccato illo sunt maxime irretiti, maxime iniuste puniunt pro eodem. Illa, inquam, est una condicio diaboli et filiorum qui ex ipso nascuntur, quod in illo 15 peccato quo est magis culpabilis magis punit; quia diaboli habent maiorem experienciam, ut illis peccatis temptent homines et convincant. Unde satrape, superiores decanis, non querunt illos qui magis mundi a crimine subditos magis purgarent, sed eos in quibus 20 viget plus experimentalis caliditas ad plurem peccuniam a populo rapiendam; quia illam querunt indubie, non purgacionem criminis subditorum. Et patet quod sunt tortores, servi mamone, non ministri Cristi, purgatores nequicie; quia hec querunt pro illo fine sollicite laborando. Sed illud odiunt, nequiciam, de qua ditantur, multipliciter procurando. Ideo certum est quod sunt 25 vasa diaboli, temptamenta populi et proximi, procura-

1. Cap. 12^m in marg. B; 12 in red ink. 3. fūc A; fune C. 4. trica C.
6. sexto tortore deest A. 9. et deest AB. 10. sophisticari C.
16. est deest A. 17. habuit A. 28. temperamenta A; temptamentum C.

4. The first sentence is incomprehensible. In all the MSS. the word *infideliter* is much abbreviated and may stand for some verb; for which, it is hard to guess.

tores luciferi. In illis enim reconditur venenum, quo populus lubricitate inficitur, ut patet ex cartulis et studio eorum. Ipsi mandant, ut concionatores et monstrosi temptatores sexus feminei, ut patet ex levi amerciamiento subdolo et verbo bleso ad continuacionem facinoris alleccio.

Et pars luciferi per eos magis quam per incubos vel succubas roboratur. Sicut enim Cristus humanitatem induit ad querendum perditam ovem centesimam, ut patet Luc. 15^o, sic diabolus anticristus decanos tales induit ad perdendum ovem redemptam cum domino desponsatam. Sic quod tollerabilius esset communicare cum meretrice, cum excommunicato | vel ipso diabolo, quam cum tali decano infirmante yppocrisi suam dragmam 10^{am}, que aliter velut aurum vel carbunculus rutilaret. Est enim in subtiliori fortitudine sexus meretrice calidior; ex malediccione abscondita, sed innata, excommunicato nequior, et ex domesticitate nature cognite infugibilior. Non enim fugatur signacione crucis, sicut diabolus, licet data sibi cruce denarii ad tempus recedat et alias avidius retrocedat. Potestas autem huius belue stat potissime in citacione et excommunicacione; secundum quam primum insons laborator locatim distanter citabitur, quod tollerabilius foret sibi in principio rapinam reddere. Quantum ad excommunicacionem, sic terret simplices quod facit eos reputari infames, cuilibet cristiane comitive odibiles.

Est autem triplex cautela contra istud demonium. Primo, quod simplex servet se mundum a culpa imposita et patienter premittat illud demonium blaterare. 2^a est populi secularis, qui debet talibus raptoribus sacrilegis potenter resistere. Nam regna alia audent ex levi causa vel nulla invadere; sed terram propriam non audent contra hostes domesticos secundum leges paternas protegere, quia percussus luciferina vecordia est pessimus sibi ipsi. Facile igitur foret fugare tales apostotas, indictando. 3^o vero cautela foret in proximo curato, ut vicario vel rectore, qui expurget impetitos sana exhortatione et fructifera confessione. Cum enim tota decani

They encourage women of bad lives, by inflicting but a slight fine and a mild reprimand on them.

They thus act in the cause of Satan like incarnate fiends, and should be more avoided than harlots, than the excommunicated and than the devil; more astute than the first, and more secretly wicked than the second, they will not, like the third, flee at the sight of the Cross.

Their great weapons are citation and excommunication, by which simple folk are much frightened, thinking that it renders them infamous.

There are three ways of avoiding their clutches.

1. By leading a pure life;
2. By resisting them by every legal means; which can easily be done.

3. By the help of the nearest Curate whose duty

1. in quo B. 3. mediant BC. 4. m'cameto A. 5. gñacom A.
15. ex BC. 17. nequior B. 20. avidius AB. 22. quam deest C.
28. Prima C. 29. illud deest C. 30. que omnes MSS. 31. sacrilegis A; ib. patenter corr. in marg. A; ib. Non A; ib. audent A. 36. inducendo A; inducendo C.

13. Dragmam for drachmam.

it is to see to
such matters
rather than a
stranger.

But they say
that even should
the guilty party
be absolved by
his Rector, the
Dean would still
have the right to
excommunicate
him, or his office
would be worth
nothing.

But we must
suppose that,
once absolved,
he is no longer
guilty before
God; every
further
punishment is
therefore
inflicted by the
devil on an
innocent man.

Another
tormentor might
inflict a third
penance; and
so on without
end, driving him
to despair.

Such a claim
blasphemously
implies that
God is
incompetent to
remit sin until
it is atoned by
simony.

vel superioris prelati visitario debet versari circa salutem anime ovis morbide, ac proximus curatus debet diligencius hoc facere quam remotus; ad eum pertinet, ammoto tortore extrinseco, ad curam illam attendere.

Sed hic vendicat pars anticristi, quod quocienscunque vel quantumcumque parochianus purgatus fuerit a rectore, dum tamen decanus in libris suis reum reperiens non habuerit predam suam, citat et excommunicat quantumcumque immunem; quia aliter, ut dicitur, superiorum prelatorum lucra et officia cassarentur. Contra istam blasphemiam versuciam instatur tripliciter: primo per hoc, quod iuxta legem dei non licet punire insontem immunem a crimine, ut patet et sepe alibi. Sed talis, ut supponitur, purgatur a crimine: ergo non licet decano, sequestratori vel alii, sic mundificatum a deo taliter punire. Item, deus non bis punit in id ipsum, cum perfecte et integre semel punivit confessum in curato, ut suppono. Ideo, si propter idem peccatum iterum puniatur, hoc erit per diabolum, deum malum. Aliter enim foret desperacio de peccato, cum satisfacto pro crimine posset alius tortor succedere, vendicando quod non adhuc satis sit sibi; et post ipsum mortuum vel cedentem, alii. Et sic secundum traditiones novas diabolus progrediretur supra dominium sine fine. Item, cum secundus tortor vendicat pedagium suum pro purgacione criminis commissi, supponit ipsum adhuc plenarie non esse expurgatum. Sed dicit implicate quod deus in se derisus et insufficiens expectat quousque per symoniam suam reddiderit purgacionis ultimum complementum. Sed quis unquam audivit magis horrendam blasphemiam? Non enim sunt deus, non recognoscens causam superiorem, dicentes: *Sic vollo, sic iubeo* etc? Sed preter scripturam falsam voluntarie rotulis suis rescriptam, oportet quod nichil alegent ex parte dei beneficencie, que in fine sonabit purgacionem a crimine. Sed cum illam perfectam creditur a domino gratis datam, non oportet symoniace emere plus perfectam.

6. arcioire A. 11. tripliciter *deest* A; *ib.* primo *deest* B. 13. *after* patet a gap omnes MSS. 17. semel punit A; punit sed deus deus semel B; *siml* = simul C; *ib.* supponitur BC. 18. a deo *in rasura pro* Ideo C. 20. satisfaccio omnes MSS. 22. ex p9 A; ep 109 C. 27. divisus C. 30. inquam C. 32. *di^{ces} pro dicentes* C. 33. inscriptan C. 34. legent AC; *ib.* beneficenciam omnes MSS. 35, 36. perfeccionem AB. 36. greditur A.

- Cautela igitur curatorum sollicita est a talibus lupis rapacibus defendere oves suas; et si mille litteras excommunicatorias transmiserint, non magis excommunicationem sophisticam fulminari. Scimus quidem quod **S** excommunicans quem quam iniuste, ut sic, semetipsum excommunicat. Scimus insuper quod pessima foret evidēcia propter litteras excommunicatorias quemquam excommunicari debere, nisi assit causa ex parte dei, cui littera talis est impertinens, reddens causam frivolum plus suspectam.
- 10** Ideo, collectis quotquot litteris huiusmodi, laboret curatus ad purgacionem suarum ovium et non prorumpat in tales excommunicationes stolidas propter nudas litteras anticristi. Et idem est iudicium de litteris episcopi et bullis papalibus, cum notum sit ipsos in anathema propter **15** vindicacionem sue iniurie cucurrisse; et tunc secundum Gregorium excommunicacio est in ipsos episcopos inferenda. Ideo idem esset onerare ecclesiam, credere quod si quemquam excommunicare precipiunt, tunc excommunicari debet apud deum et ecclesiam militantem, et onerare **20** ipsam ecclesiam quod sint impeccabiles sicut Christus; et postposita ista blasfemia non forent tot excommunicationes frivole, ut iam currunt. Fidelis enim non crederet ewangelio, quod est superius bullis papalibus, nisi assit divina inspiracio ad hoc movens. Ideo, nisi **25** deus inspiret, videtur quod nemo excommunicare debeat. Nam sic et non aliter excommunicarunt Christus et sui apostoli. Non igitur propter perfidiam fictam de constantia prela | torum debet fidelis se et plebem involvere, **63** ubi ex sibi dubio male facit. Nam constat ex decreto **30** Gregorii 23 q. III^a ca^o *Inter querelas*, excommunicans propter vindictam proprie iniurie se ipsum excommunicat eo facto; ergo multo magis excommunicans propter hoc **D.** quod pecunias sibi indebite decimetur. Cum igitur notum sit decanos et plures prelatos excommunicare **35** precipue propter questum, stultus esset qui nude excommunicaret propter eorum litteras et mandata; deus enim mandat, verbo scripture cum noticia facti, quod

Parish priests should defend their sheep from these ravenous wolves, in spite of their excommunications, and however many such letters and notices he may receive,

he should, instead of publishing them, strive to bring his flock to a better life; the same must be said of bishops' letters and Papal bulls, when they are known to proceed only from revenge, their authors being thus excommunicated. It would be a heavy burden if we had to believe that God ratifies every excommunication. Even the Gospel should not be believed, if it were not inspired, and without a revelation no one ought to be excommunicated. Therefore none should be published before his flock by a faithful priest, if he has doubts about their lawfulness. Hardened sinners, as we know by Scripture, are excommuni-

1. est deest A. 4. quod deest AB. 5. quem omnes MSS.
9. forvolam C. 11. non deest A. 13. est deest C; ib. de litteris deest B.
16. Greg^o C. 20. ipsa in marg. A. 21. ista deest C. 27. sic tam C.
33. sibi deest A; ib. detinetur C.

30. This canon is not in the Gregorian Decretals, but in those of Gratian. It is, however, ascribed to Gregory: "*Gregorius scribet ad Januarium episcopum dicens*". See Decr. Grat. 2^a Pars. C^a. XXIII. qu. 4. c. 27.

cated by the
very fact;
yet, contrary to
Scripture, we do
not shun their
society; why
then obey a
censure which
has only money
for its object?
A man should
not be punished
again for a sin
for which he has
already done
penance.

Fines of this
sort, if paid
gratuitously, are
neither alms-
deeds nor
atonement for
sin; if paid for
the permission
to continue a
sinful life, they
are a horrible act
of blasphemy.

They are
arbitrary, and
therefore
unlawful,
because
imposed
without any rule
but the dean's
will; so that he
might take all
the adulterer's
property, if he
chose.

The only rule he
follows is to take
as much as he
can without
danger of being
exposed.

illos quos notorie videmus induratos malicia excommunicat
eo facto, et tamen non timemus communicare cum illis
consensu multiplici; et tamen fides scripture, que plus
est quam literę predicte hoc prohibet, ut patet Math. 18 et 2^a Joh. Est infidelis ergo qui postponit propter
talem tyrannidem deum suum.

Sed rimando ulterius arguitur quod non licet dictis
prepositis sic singulariter propter amerciammentum luxurie
capere bona mechi; nam hoc non liceret, nisi sub ratione
pene illius peccati. Sed iuxta predicta non licet taliter
bis punire et specialiter capta salutari penitencia ex
limitacione proprii sacerdotis. Non enim licet iniungere
penam publicam, nisi liceret publice confiteri et spoliatori
publice absolvere a peccato, quia aliter liceret quotquot
raptoribus absolvere vel rapere successive.

Item, nullum tale amerciammentum debet dari a subdito,
si non gratis; sed non debet sic gratis dare questum
tali preposito, quia nec titulo elemosine nec titulo redem-
pcionis culpe; cum sic liceret licenciare mechum continuare
pro pecunia symoniace in mechia. Quod licet dicatur sepe
fieri, tamen manifestum est quod est horrenda blasfemia,
quam tota ecclesia impugnaret; sed dei iniuriam ex defectu
dileccionis vindicare postponimus, nostram autem preten-
sam, quia nos magis diligimus, infideliter vindicamus. Et
ista est infidelitas per anticristum nimis abscondita. Ideo
preponderancia vindicte atestatur preponderacione iniurie.

Item, cum penitencia pecuniaria sit arbitraria, si
sit rationalis, est aliqua rationis regula, secundum quam
debit arbitrari; sed nulla est, sicut nec fundamentum:
ergo est irracionalis. Si enim voluntas decani sit regula,
tunc secundum variacionem talis voluntatis requiritur
quod ratio varietur. Ex quo sequitur quod eius voluntas
sit dei volicio, cum antecederet faciat rationem; et sic
mutata voluntate sua, ut habeat quotlibet bona mechi
(eciam ultra hoc quod possidet) sequitur quod voluntas
decani posset quotquot bona voluerit de populo exhaurire.

Sic enim dicitur Innocencium 3^m nongentas marcas, si non
fuisset fraus percepta, annuatim de Anglia exhausisse. Sed
irracionalitas et variacio affectus decani ostendit blas-
femiam; moderat enim rapinam ad maximum; sic tamen
quod fraus et frustracio pecunie non fuerit deprehensa.

5. 2^a Joh. 5 C. est *deest* AC; *ib.* qui *deest* C. 21. est *before* quod
deest AB. 4. *vincamus* A. 26. *preponderacionem* C. 27. *sic* C.
32. cuius A. 33. *talis* A; *ib.* tunc *pro* et *sic*. 40. enim *pro* tamen AC.

Matth
XVIII
17
2 Joas
10, 1

15

20

25

30

35

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- E. Item, cum lex dei non auctorizat hoc factum, nec proficit, sed inficit humana tradicio, quo ad illud potissima ratio foret, quia pecunie subtraccio foret (lubricitatis occasionem subtrahens) medicina. Sed
 5 patet quod talis spoliatio sit occasio ad furtum, ad homicidium et ad alia multa mala. Ymmo, supposita veritate huius petiti, 3^a alia sunt vitanda. Primo, unde isti prelato auctoritas ad tales penitencias iniungendum? Videtur enim quod ad illum solum pertinet peniten-
 10 ciam talem iniungere, qui debet absolvere: quod blasphemum est a tali scopante. Iterum, supposito quod talis subtraccio fomenti luxurie sit plus salutifera, adhuc circumstantia bonificans est precipue attendenda. Sed quid facit ad meritum petulantis, quod ipse invito dat
 15 maiori mecho consimiliter? debet ergo gratis magis indigentibus ut posset sua pravitas extingui. Item notum est quod perpetua peccantium separatio, aliena occupatio, sive ieiunium et multe penitencie consimiles forent plus medicinales quam huiusmodi subdola rapax.
 20 Multa iniungat ergo deus contrito penitenciam voluntariam, quod debemus ex fide supponere, sicut invidencius supponimus quod confitens sit contritus. Et patet undique penitencia plus salutifera ac magis legitima. Vecors itaque ignorancia est, quod rapina talis permit-
 25 titur; ymmo quod contra talem non currit breve regium, ut raptorem. Ymmo potius raperent pro gravioribus criminibus magis patentibus, in quibus fraus magis subdola sopiretur.

The only argument in favour of a system not authorized by God's law, is that pecuniary fines take away the occasion for lust; but they supply an occasion for other evils. What right has the dean, who does not absolve, to inflict such penalties? It were better for the sinner to give alms to the poor than fines to one worse than himself. And many other penances are better remedies for this sin than fines.

These men should be severely punished as robbers by the king.

- Supposito igitur quod ecclesia fidelium noscat infrenare
 30 tales anticristi prepositos, sic quod despiciendo eorum cautelas terrificas excludat eos simpliciter a rapinis
 F. huiusmodi; videndum est quomodo rectores et sui presbyteri se habebunt. Et videtur michi quod primo omnium debemus declinare a malo culpe, nedum in genere, sicut
 35 quilibet cristianus; sed specialiter peccatum tam omissionis quam comissionis circa curam nostrarum ovium precavere. Aliter enim sumus inhabiles ad subditos nostros secundum spirituale suffragium adiuvandum,

The duty of spiritual pastors.
 1. To avoid carefully every sin, and especially those against their flock.

1. 2. nec proficiat, sed inficiat B. 2. sed inficit deest A. 4. actionem A; ib. medi pro medicina C. 5. accio A. 11. Item C.
 12. ad hanc pro adhuc B. 15. maumecho B; mecho C; ib. consimili det igitur C. 16. bonitas A; pronitas C; ib. Iterum C. 17. propterea AB.
 19. foret C. 20. deus struck out B. 21. demus A; decanus in marg. B.
 23. ac twice A. 25. non currit deest B. 29. igitur deest AB.
 32. Nota hic de officio curatorum in marg. B.

If sometimes, for
the greater good
of the Church,
we absent
ourselves from
our cure, we
must yet make
sure that it does
not suffer from
this;
and we should
give it up
entirely rather
than neglect it
while receiving
its income.

2. But if we leave
our flock, it
must be for
some occupation
at least as useful
to the Church:
which is
certainly lawful,
for we should
love the whole
Church more
than its part.

Christ's parable
of the lost sheep
explained in this
sense.

Christ left the
99, i. e. the
angels, in
Heaven, in order
to seek the
human race,
as one lost
sheep; but He
notwithstanding
that, cared for
the Angels'
happiness.

We cannot do
as He did, but
we must at least
imitate Him.

nec rationem nostre stricte custodie deo damus. Licet
autem, ad maiorem profectum matris ecclesie, oportet
in casu oves privatas dimittere et ob amorem Cristi
profectui ecclesie maiori intendere, tamen summopere
cavendum est ne interim, propter absenciam pastoris
proprii vel eius vicarii, oves sue depereant; quia potius
desereret earum custodiam et omnino lucrum de
oblacionibus et de decimis, cum ipsum recipiendo
curatoris titulo et deficiendo ab officio illo obligatorio
fatue se dampnaret. Sed oportet 2^o omnino quod
absens a cura sit in bona et sibi licita causa ecclesie
eque salubriter vel salubrius occupatus. Ideo servientes
in officio seculari negotiis, ociantes in scholis, et intencione
illicita peregrinantes, vel visitantes romanum pontificem,
peccant graviter. Quod autem sit licitum propter maius
meritum sic oves suas dimittere, patet ex hoc quod
curatus plus obligatur toti matri ecclesie, quam istis
privatis ovibus, cum non debet ipsas diligere, nisi in
ordine ad matrem totalem quam debet finaliter plus
amare: Cum igitur generaliter debet magis intendere
superioris servicio plus dilecti, sequitur quod debet
in casu, dimisso privato officio, intendere servicio
superioris ecclesie.

Hoc enim exemplificat Cristus qui, ut dicitur Luc. 15. 1
parabolavit quomodo, relictis 99 ovibus in deserto, 2
quesivit ovem centesimam; nam plus amavit centum 3
oves qualibet parte sui. Sed ovem centesimam, cum sit 4
Cristus, vel Cristus eius caput, licet secundum partem
inferiorem huius corporis sit peccator, Cristus plus
diligat cum beatis ceteris quam totam multitudinem 30
angelorum. Est enim melior tam natura quam gracia.
Sed nota quod Cristus aliqua ratione reliquit 99 oves,
hoc est omnes angelorum ordines, in deserto, quia
factus homo ut ovis perdita ipsum reductorem cognoscat 35
facilius, naturam angelicam non assumpsit, nec ipsum
celum, sed terram in qua ovis erraverat, primo incoluit;
et hoc est illas oves dimittere, licet noscatur illas oves
perpetuo deifice conservare. Celum autem est pascua
semper virencia, a tumultu calcancium aliena, et post
confirmacionem a lupis et canibus sunt secura. Licet 40

3. ab *pro* ob A. 7. custodium A; *ib.* omne A. 8. de *deest* C.
26. amant *omnes* MSS. 28. vel Cristus *deest* A. 30. beatis *deest* C.
37. nosatur C.

autem non sufficimus eque (ut iste summus per se bonus Pastor), oves dimittere tam secure; tamen debemus sibi facere placitum huic proporcionale, nec sufficimus ovem sic impositam collo nostro reducere ad ovile, sicut
 5 non possumus nos sub obtentu habitudinis humane taliter obligare, sed intelligendum est proportionaliter modo parabole utrobique. Et patet quod quicumque cum istis paribus centum oves habuerit, una perdita, ut dicit ewangelium, ita facit.

10 Sed obicitur per hoc quod, iuxta dicta de residencia curati, satisfaccio et lex debiti tolleretur; quia, ut dicitur, licet rectori capere proventus huiusmodi parochie satisfaciendo cuicumque ecclesie, cum pro tempore non
 15 residencie non singularius prodest illi ecclesie, quam alteri cuicumque: ymmo, unus incognitus caritativior magis prodest. Quomodo igitur est correspondencia acceptionis istorum proventuum ad meritum tam comune? per idem enim quilibet plus promerens haberet ampliorem

20 titulum vendicandi. Hic negatur prima consequencia, cum curatus providus, quantumcumque absens corpore est presens virtute, cum providet de apto vicario, qui si defuerit exigendo proventus talis ecclesie, lupaciter rapit ipsos; nec video quod rector in tali casu racionabiliter peteret pro tunc a tali ecclesia, nisi titulo
 25 elemosine, parca vite necessaria, que tunc non haberet apcius aliunde. Sic enim apostolus edificando avaros corinthios cepit sic vite necessaria ab alienis ecclesiis. Nec video quomodo curatus potest secundum legem dei, quantumcumque laboraverit, bona parochie ultra
 30 necessitatem iuste exigere. Illa enim est regula apostolica, ut patet 1^a Thym 6^o, quam non licet viris apostolicis supergredi. Item, quidquid debet rector percipere de sua parochia. in quantum talis, ipsum debet esse titulo elemosine; sed repugnat racioni
 35 elemosine ipsam per placitum vel excomunicacionem exigere. Et assumptum patet de Cristo et suis apostolis, qui exemplarunt nobis in suo facto sic facere: unde,

Objection: If the curate is thus obliged to reside, he has no longer any right to his income; the Rector may give it to one more useful to the parish.

But the curate, absent in body, may be present in mind, and may appoint a good vicar, who however has no right to the income of the parish, nor the curate himself, beyond his personal needs.

All that the Rector has is alms, which cannot be conforeed. If a man withholds alms that are due, he should he left to God's excommunication.

5. nos deest A. 6. est deest A. 10. Solvitur A. 12. modi deest BC. 14. residence A; residen^o C. 15, 16. ymmo — igitur deest A. 16. carencia A. 18. et pro per A; ib. providens A. 19. vendendi A; ib. nature A. 21. potens A; ib. virtute deest A. 29. dei deest B. 31. tess. 6^o pro ut — 6^o A; ib. quam homo non B. 32. apostolicis deest C; ib. quicumque B. 34. racionem C. 36. Et assumptum deest C. 37. extrasunt vel A; exemplarunt nobis in facto suo C.

Luce 9^o, quando Cristo iniuriatum fuit, prohibuit ex-communicare explicite. Si enim quis iniuriatur michi, deitas XI, excommunicat eum eo facto. Et cum ego debeo secundum legem Cristi orando pro iniuriante iniuriam ipsam dimittere, repugnat eidem legi quod propterea publice 5 maledicam. Et ista est ratio legis Gregorii *Inter querelas*, 23, 9, 4. Item, si proventus ecclesie liberari debent ut debitum, oportet dare equivalens commutatum; nullum pertinencius quam spirituale ministerium parochianis impensum. Et sic rector comitteret symoniam. Et revera 10 illi qui magis contendunt in talibus, non sunt digni pro toto ministerio recipere pecuniam; ymmo, ut ministratio rectoris foret melior, sic in cambio foret proventus carior. Unde quidam religiosi librant valorem sui habitus, in quo extranei moriantur. Leges itaque docentes cu- 15 ratos pro decimis vel elemosinis dandis contendere vel pugnare, sunt a religione legis Cristi extranee.

The Rector's return for dues is spiritual ministry; but if he exacts money for this, he commits simony.

Christ warns us against the Scribes and Pharisees; because the clergy which, if good, is the best part of the Church, is the worst if bad, as in the times of Christ and Antichrist;

Our scribes are the secular, our Pharisees, the regular or 'religious' clergy: we, Christ's disciples, must be better than either. Their righteousness is both insufficient and superfluous.

Ideo videtur Cristum dicere, Matth. 5^o, ubi condidit Ma- legem suam, quod *nisi habundaverit iusticia vestra plus V.* *quam scribarum et phariseorum, non intrabitis in regnum 20 celorum*; hoc enim dixit in apostolis cuilibet cristiano. Pro cuius intellectu suppono clerum, qui est 3^a pars ecclesie, dum observat legem secundum suum ordinem, esse partem optimam, et dum apostatat esse pessimam; patet hoc rationibus et exemplis. Nam sicut clerus in 25 sacerdotibus legis veteris pro tempore mortis Cristi fuit pessimus, sic videtur fore pessimus pro tempore anticristi. Secundo, suppono clerum perversum in duo dividi: scilicet, in seculares et tradicionibus humanis apostate innitentes, ut erant scribe in lege veteri, et 30 iuriste in lege gracie, et in phariseos religiosos, ut patet de 3^{bus} sectis tempore Cristi et de sectis innumerabilibus H. tempore legis gracie. 3^o videtur Cristum | docere singulos 64 cristianos secte sue in iusticia excedere istam sectam. Ipsa enim, iustificando tradiciones hominum, legis dei 35 iusticiam parvipendit. Unde Cristus non dignatur istam falsam et nude verbalem iusticiam scribarum et phariseorum exprimere, sed satis innuit connexa dei iusticia ipsam contempnere, cum sit insufficiens in regnum in-

2. deus C. 3. eo deo A. 6. legis deest A. 7. 8. ut debitum deest C. 8. communicatum A. 17. sunt deest C. 26. legis A. 27. pro deest B. 29. et deest AC. 30. scribere A. 31. nil iste B; ib. etiam pro et in A. 33. \wedge gre \wedge legis (sic) A; 'gre 'legis C. 39. sive pro cum B

6. Gregorii. See note above, p. 175.

ducere. Et sic dicta iusticia est insufficiens atque superflua. Insufficiens, quia contempnit radicem virtutis et vicii, ut patet in exemplis Cristi; et est superflua, quia modo phariseico nimis appreciatur ritus sensibiles.

- 5 Quo ad primum patet quod peccati occasio est tol-
lenda, cum post ramos abscisos germinat ex radice. In
cuius signum dicitur Lu. 3^o, quod securis ad radicem
9 arboris posita est. Cristus ergo, ut summus medicus,
precipit spurcias anime expurgari, et sic secundum
10 perfectam iusticiam, omitta observacione superflua, sem-
per melius plus curare. Et ista superfluitas figuratur
exemplo multiplici, ut in privatis ordinibus introductis
in domibus et aliis superfluis et in humanis tradicionibus
cum suis fructibus. Plus enim ponderantur scribarum
15 excommunicacio, corporalis incarcerationio, et stultorum
diffamacio, quam insensibilis vindicacio, que omnia ista
nociva excedit. Abiciamus ergo superflua huius palliate
iusticie, plus appreciantes operibus bonis de genere
rectitudinem voluntatis, et plus timentes divinum iudicium,
20 licet insensibile, quam censuras quaslibet satraparum;
tunc enim divinam iusticiam adimplemus. Ipsa enim,
cum sit omnis virtus, est unicuique reddere virtuose
quod debeat esse suum; ut deo humile servitium et
honorem, virtuoso caritativum adiutorium et favorem;
25 sed vicioso, correpcionis debitum et timorem: quibus
servatis, oportet iusticiam beatitudinem vendicare. Sicut
enim bonus debet habere adiutorium ex vi comunionis
sanctorum, sic malus debet habere correpcionem frater-
nam, et ultimo timorem ex elongacione ab illo tamquam
30 diabolo, ut docetur Matth. 18. Et divisio istius partis
iusticie nimis debilitat ordinem cristianum. Et patet quod
iusticia phariseica nimis arta undiquaque deficit; cum
debet inimicos diligere, et dileccioni dei ac cuiuslibet
creature modum virtuosum superaddere, ac superfluitatem
35 in qua superhabundant precipere.

Quod autem cristianus debet superhabundanter diligere
inimicos, patet ratione multiplici. Primo, quia Cristus,
Matth. 5^o, sic precipit; eius autem preceptio est summa
obligacio. Item, diligendo inimicos, acquiritur naturaliter

Insufficient:
they only avoid
the outward
aspects of sin,
and do not go
to the root.

Superfluous:
witness the
houses of the
different Orders
and all their
traditions.

Let us cast
them away
from us, and
follow the path
of justice,
giving to each
his own: to
God, honour;
to the good,
our help, and
to the bad,
reproof.

This Pharisaical
justice is found
wanting in
these things.

We must love
our enemies,
because Christ
taught us so;
because we
thereby avoid

2. veritatis A; virtutis corr. ex veritatis C. 8. igitur C. 9. tunc
pro et sic B. 16. benedictio A. 19. rectionem A. 22, 23. Nota quomodo
redditor quod debeat esse suum A. 22. secundum philosophos est BC.
23. dictat A. 31. nimis deest B. 33. cuilibet B. 37. deus B.
39. Ita bonum facit diligere inimicum in marg. B.

the bitterness of
anger against
them;
and because
our enemies
will then
torment us less,

and God will
be pleased
with us;
we shall be
like Him,

and our
enemies will
become our
friends, or
give us more
occasions of
merit.
We must love
our enemy's
nature, but not
his sin, nor the
person to
whom the sin
belongs.

No one should
accept a
benefice, unless
quite
purified from
all worldly
intentions;
He must first
of all be a man
capable of
fulfilling his
duties.
Then he must
not accept a
curacy out of
worldiness,
love of pleasure,
or a wish to
enrich his
friends;
but in order to
suffer, labour
and do good;

commodum corporale, cum intrinsecus turbacio spiritus animalis evaditur et extrinsecus inimici insultantis inveteracio evitatur. Primum autem vehementer exprimitur corpus affligere, ut Prov. 17^o. *Spiritus tristis exsiccat ossa*. Et quoad 2^{um} ex inveterata invidia videmus plurimos dampnificari et occidi cottidie. Racionabile itaque foret tollere causam tanti mali. Item, quoad bonum spirituale, patet quod reddit remittentem placatum deo. Et hinc Cristus et Stephanus orantes pro hostibus dicuntur propterea exauditi. 2^o reddit talem benivolum deiformem, cum remittendo et benefaciendo ponit vindictam in dei arbitrio, et interim benefacit, ut dei minister, diligendo naturam quam deus diligit. Et tercio, cooperante dei gracia, reddit inimicum firmum amicum, vel accumulando meritum magis inimice. Stultus igitur foret qui irrationabiliter appeteret viam diaboli, omisso tam facili et tam bono. Diligi autem debet natura inimici, eciam ipse diabolus, et odiri peccatum et secundum illam racionem ipsum suppositum; quia aliter indubie fovens creaturam ad hostem dei sit proditor dei: sicut preponderans vindicari humanam iniuriam, nedum iniuste solvit primum mandatum decalogi, sed creaturam cuius iusticiam preponderat constituit infideliter deum suum; et in ista blasfema perfidia currit totus mundus.

Nemo igitur acciperet ante huius artis noticiam curam spiritualis regiminis, nec ante purgacionem secularis propositi; sed omnino habeat divinum propositum pastoraliter prodessendi. Primum patet ex hoc quod proditor dei foret qui suas oves susciperet tamquam eius vicarius, supposita inercia huius officii: talis enim, presumendo scilicet, in facto diceret quod non curat illudendo prodere deum suum. Et quoad 2^m, patet quod oportet curatum purgari a 3^{ci} proposito venenoso. Primo, ne accipiatur cura regiminis propter vitam inclitam, 2^o, ne accipiatur ut curatus adaugeat voluptatem, et 3^o, ne inordinate ditet suam cognacionem. Sed sanctum propositum debet esse ut in labore maiori et erumpna secundum pastorale officium plus proficiendo

1. comodum C. 4. 17^o deest, blank space B; 1A in marg. suppl. C;
ib. Tristis animus C. 6. quotidie C. 9. orantibus A. 16. totaliter A. 18. odii A. 28. dictum AB. 29. possidendi C.
31. inh'cia A; inhercia illius C. 34. curari A; ib. triplici C. 35. regi C.
37. dicet A. 39. pastoralet A.

ecclesie meritorius placeat deo suo; et si tale propositum disruptum fuerit, omnimode reviviscat.

K. Signum autem perversi curati est patulum, ut si

sancte conversando subditos suos in opere non excedat;

5 si mundo deditus, secularibus desideriis insolescat; et si

ab ewangelisatione ad plebem obmuteat et exigendo pro-

ventus sue parochie secundum leges satraparum exasperat.

46^b Videtur enim omnes illas tradiciones | esse superfluas;

quia, introducta lege elemosine, clerus non debet conten-

10 dere, sed bonum pro malo reddere; non excommunicare,

sed maledicentibus et persequentibus benedicere, ut

docet Petrus, per quem cristiana religio sumpsit exordium,

1 Pet. sicut patet Pe. 3^o. Tunc enim omnes iste tradiciones

III, 9 forent nedum superflue, sed diabolice, quia legis domini

15 extinctive. Et videtur quod securius foret curatum vel

ewangelizando per patrias, ut fecerunt apostoli, sine privata

cura, ubi magis expedit, circuire; vel posito quod ad

hoc non sufficiat, secundum formam predictam in sua

parrochia residere. Periculosum quidem videtur michi

20 modo vel curatum scolis intendere, vel arbitratis neces-

sariis regni negociis laborare; sed dum ratio hoc exigit

curam tam privatam prudenter dimittere.

Uterius videtur quod parochiani, cum non tenentur

nisi titulo elemosine decimas curato suo solvere, videndo

25 publice quod a religione rectoris qui apostotat, tenentur

elemosinas illas subtrahere. Nam ille elemosine secundum

legem Cristi debentur pauperibus, cecis, claudis atque debi-

libus; sed non licet propter ordinationem hominis, dando

elemosinas istas apostatis, legi dei repugnari. Unde in lege

30 veteri, quando levitis dabantur decime, deus providit

penitus suis egentibus, et populus fuit prohibitus men-

Deut. dicare, ut patet Deut. 15^o. Nudum itaque et exile foret

XV, 4 argumentum ex decimacione cerimoniali legis veteris

curatum, quomodocunque vixerit, de illis quos tantum

35 dampnificat decimam vendicare. Verumtamen licet Cristus

et apostoli non decimas legis veteris exegerunt, tamen

videtur michi quod populus nunc et semper decimas

debet persolvere; et cum suo curato debet de vite ne-

1. Cor. cessariis providere, ut patet Cor. 9, videtur rationi

IX, 4

and this resolution should again be taken, if broken.

A bad curate can be known by his love of things secular, his negligence of the Gospel, and his greediness for money.

There would be no such greed, if only the law of alms were in force.

It would be better if the curate went hither and thither, preaching the Gospel throughout the country, or labouring in his parish.

The parishioners, if they see that their curate is an apostate, are bound to give him no alms. No argument in favour of tithes can give any claims to a pastor who does harm to his flock.

Yet, since the people ought to provide curates with what is necessary for life, the payment of

3. Nota hic signa perversi curati in marg. B; ib. prelati C. 4. false C; ib. excedat AB. 7. parrochie C. 9. ut quod clerus BC. 13. per 1^a pe. B; per deest C. 16. prias = patrias. 19. parrothia A. 21. ratio deest B. 23. tent^a A. 25. qui deest AB. 31. punicis A; punitis B; pnitis; in marg. penitus C. 33. ex decimacione deest A. 35. V'mfm A. 36. exigerunt C. 37. Nota de decimis in marg. B.

tithes is a duty, as almsgiving is; and the Friars and the needy live upon tithes.

consonum quod rectores de decimis sustententur, sicut sustentabantur Cristus et apostoli de decimis cum egenis ceteris, licet non contendebant de integritate et calculo partis quote. Utilius enim fuit illis de una persona vel paucis titulo elemosine, expertis parcis decimis, quantum 5 est necessarium pro officio ewangelisandi, suscipere, quam quotquot decimas imperatas habere cum murmure vendicantis. Unde certum est quod fratres et egeni vivunt de decimis; sed populus ultra decimam ex cautela diaboli spoliatur. 10

If the Rector fails in his duty, he sins in exacting tithes, and his parishioners sin in giving them.

If he has a legal right to tithes, by what law are they due?

The only case of such exaction found to be in Scripture is that of the wicked sons of Heli.

Passage quoted, and explained in the sense of compulsory tithes.

And now, as then, these crimes may bring calamities on God's people.

Item, iuxta dicta hec supponenda, quicquid iniustus 1. occupat vel vendicat, facit iniuste peccando continue. Rector igitur, dum deficit a curatoris officio, peccat graviter, occupando vel petendo decimas subditorum. Et, cum gratis solvens sic apostato cooperando consenciat, 15 videtur quod decimando sibi peccat graviter ex consensu. Forte dicitur quod non solum elemosinarie sed pure titulo iusticie dande sunt decime. Sed quo ad primam partem dicerem tali garulo: legem pone. Nec dubito quin nullam in fide scripture inveniet, nisi forte 20 illud Reg. 2^o, de pueris Ofny et Phyneas. Porro filii 1. R *Heli, filii Belial, nescientes dominum neque officium sacer-* II *dotum ad populum; sed quicumque ymmolasset victimam* 14- *veniebant pueri sacerdotis, dum coquerentur carnes; et habebant fuscinullam tridentem in manu sua, et mittebant 25 eam in lebetem, et omne quod levabat fuscinulla, tollebat sacerdos sibi. Et sequitur: "Non enim accipiam a te carnem coctam, sed crudam." Et sequitur: "Nunc enim dabis, alioquin tollam vi." Carnes sunt decime curatorum, que secundum partem sunt carnes ad literam. 30 Carnes vero crudas exigere, est decimas ablacionum dominative requirere; devocio enim elemosine, ex operibus caritatis, ut igne supposito cacabo, debet esse coccio decimarum. Tridens autem fuscinulla est maledicta tradicio diabolica ex tradicionem papali, ex tradicionem 35 cesarea, et ex adinvencione proprie consuetudinis super stipitem scripture legis veteris recurvata. Cum ista enim dicit tortor puer presbiteri: "*Da michi pure ex debito**

1. enim AB. 4. paratis A; parte B; *ib.* Ultio A; *ib.* illis *deest* A.
5. ecclesie A; *eleie* C; *ib.* ep *pci* B C; *ib.* *eleis pro* decimis C. 6. suscitare A.
11. hec *deest* B; hic C. 13. accusatoris *omnes* MSS. 15. apostolici A.
7. sed *twice* A. 21. Offin et fineas A; Osyn et fineas C. 22. n^o q3 A.
24. veniebat puer BC. 25. habebat BC; *ib.* fuscinunculam B; fuscinulam C;
ib. sua *deest* C. 6. libetem A; *ib.* fustinuncula BC. 27. sibi *deest* B.
33. caccabo A; cacabo C. 34. fistinuncula B; fuscinula C. 37. legis
ve ro^ocuata A.

dominandi; *alioquin tollam vi.*" Sed timendum est ne ista exaccio sit presagium occisionis spiritualis populi, sicut fuit statim post illud puerorum facinus de Iudeis.

Stat igitur quod iustus rector simul recipiat decimas
5 titulo elemosine et titulo divine iusticie; et sic, si non elemosinarie non dande sunt decime. Item, videtur ex lege caritatis quod parochianus debet decimas talis rectoris subtrahere; quia, iuxta dicta omnis homo debet omnem hominem, etiam inimicum, in Cristo diligere;
10 sed ministrare sibi sic decimas foret ipsum criminaliter odire; ergo fidelis subditus hoc non debet. Constat quidem ex fide quam parochianus debet cognoscere, quod de quanto talis rector amplius sic ditatur dampnificat parochianum, et ipse in malicia amplius profundatur.
15 Sed indubie lex diaboli verecundaretur ista precipere; scilicet, quod homo debet ex bonis suis studiose dampnificare se ipsum et proximum. Talis enim amor seculi foret odium etiam diaboli; nec dubium quin talis rector, ut amplius abutitur bonis ecclesie, plus profundatus in peccato obligacionem se reddit de criminis ratione. Et hec creditur una causa quare deus quandoque misericorditer abbreviat vitam talis.

Quocumque igitur lex sub pena excomunicacionis illud precipit, notorie est iniqua. Et si debeat expectari post
25 probacionem pape iudicium, constat quod stat papam transfigurari interim in anticristum, nec est alicubi verior probacio quam ubi est facinoris ocularis ostensio; hec enim, et non in curia romana falsorum testium deposicio, probat crimen. Et si dicatur quod tantum
M. 30 viciu non debet supponi in capite; verum est quod non debet esse in capite; supponi tamen et credi debet tanquam contingens a fidelibus destruendum. Similiter, fidelis parochianus debet talem rectorem odire in quantum est proditor dei sui; non igitur fovere eum bonis
35 Cristi pauperum contra ipsum, quia sic diligeret cristianus diabolum plus quam deum. Sed ubi foret maior prodicio? Similiter parochianus tenetur odire talem rectorem, dei iniuriam vindicando. Sed tale odium foret levissimum et securissimum, non comunicando cum eo, ut dicunt

The Rector should accept tithes as alms, or as due to him by God's justice. If he does not it is a duty of charity to deprive him of them;

the more he has, the more harm he will do, and we can in no case be obliged to pay for injuring both ourselves and our neighbour.

Any law compelling to give tithes is unjust.

We need not await the Pope's decision; our eyesight is worth more than the witness of the Curia.

Such wickedness should not be in the Head of the Church; if there, it should be destroyed. To nourish Christ's enemy with the substance of the poor is to love the devil more than God.

2. occasionis A; occisionis in marg. occisionis C. 6. mille pro non A; nulle C. 7. legetur A. 15. precipue B. 17. Cristum A. 20. obligacionem B. 21. videtur B. 24. si deest C. 25. ppba^a A. 26. tūstguari A. 27. oculorum B. 34. est omnes deest MSS. 35. pauperem A; paupm C; id. parochianus A.

he best thing
is to have
nothing to do
with him; he
thus loses his
income.

No arguments
from tradition
can prevail
against Christ's
law.

Many evils
would arise
from a new
state of things,
as they always
do; here the
principal would
be the poverty
of the perverse,
the reduction in
the number of
the clergy
(which may be
left to God to
deal with) and
the bad
administration
of Church
property.
But Christ
never designed
curates to live
in such pomp
as they do now.

leges plurime. Et confirmacio est quod talis pro leviori peccato debet deponi. Ideo prius iustum est quod tales ab eo redditus sint subtracti. Hoc enim foret facilius quam decolacio vel depositio. Et ista sententia foret *tirriaca* contra iniustas appropriaciones ecclesiarum, contra tiran-⁵ nicas non residencias et culpas notorias personarum, et omnino contra blasfemas instituciones cardinalium et personarum alienigenarum, quorum ausencia, cum sit per se sensibilis, debet a parrochiis optime iudicari.

Quantum ad instancias, patet quod tradicio anticristi¹⁰ non debet precellere legem Cristi, nec ratio simealis a simili de humano debito et solucione decimarum in lege veteri militat contra Cristum; quia ipse vult contractum esse celestem, non civilem vel carnalem; sed secundum quod est pure aput deum debitum, statui innocencie¹⁵ plus propinquum. Nec movet quod occasione istius possent multa mala contingere; quia sic contigit, occasione incarnationis Cristi et dacionis legis domini. Sed undique fuit occasio male accepta. Malum autem preponderans foret depauperacio discolorum, et defectiva administracio²⁰ bonorum prepositorum, et paucificacio clericorum. Sed quo ad primum et 3^m. donemus deo istam iniuriam. Sed pro medio notandum quod parvum est illud malum pene quo ad culparum notam, que ex ista culpabili tradicionem eveniunt. Cristus enim in se gessit typum²⁵ penalis indigencie sacerdotum, ut patet Matth. 25 et Luce 9^o. Sed nunquam figuravit istam secularem conversacionem et pompaticam curatorum; sed Luce 9. docet quod debet esse spiritus a deo spiratus, et correspondenter ad spiritum suarum ovium instruocius. Spiritus³⁰ enim de corpore capit nudam sustentacionem sensuum: et licet sepe turbetur a corpore, perdat sensum et ab eo culpam contrahat; tamen ipsum corpus semper vivificat, dirigit atque sanat. Sic debent pastores ecclesie reddere bonum pro malo suis ovibus, instar Cristi. Unde³⁵ de nostris curatis nichil plus timeo, quam quod pre-textu cupiditatis mundane, dimisso regimine, spolient oves suas.

Matth.
XXV,
26
Luce.
IX, 58

1. quod *deest* A; *ib.* pleniori A. 2. tales *deest* BC. 4. *tiriaca* B; *tyriaca* C. 5, 6. *t'raicas* A; *trutuicae* C. 6. *r'fide* A. 11. dei pro Cristi BC; *ib.* symealis C. 14. non *pro* vel B. 15. ipse *pro* est A. 22. *doemg* = docemus A. 28. *popatica* C. 29. debent A. 32. et *before* ab *deest* A. 33. tantum C; *ib.* super A. 36. *pre deest* B.

Quo ad sacerdotem parrochiale vel simplicem, qui debet esse rectori socius et adiutor, patet quod contigit eum multis modis deficere, ut ex illiteratura et ex defectu occupationis laudabilis, superbie, mundo et carni intendere. Ideo laudabile videtur quod tales dent se scripture studio vel informacioni iuvenum, ne extra tempus sacerdotalis ministerii diabolus ipsos inveniatur ociosos; debent autem cavere ab omni culpa, et specialiter a pravitate symoniaca, in ingressu quo ad ordinem vel conduccionem; in progressu, quo ad ministerii sui mercacionem, ut patet de denariis confessionis vel alterius sacramenti ministracionis; et caveant 3^o de vicio symoniaco ex consensu, ut capiendo questum pro occultando crimine, paciundo predacionem populi ut lucro participet de fratre ordinario vel questore. Rector enim et suus presbiter debent esse una persona in regendis ovibus et a lupis rapacibus defendendis. Ideo debent in regimine virtutum altrinsecus se curare. Quod si facimus diligenciam nostram, possemus faciliter oves nostras defendere a lupinis spoliacionibus, ut officialis, decani, fratris cuiuscunque, pseudoclerici, vel questoris. Malicia autem talis sacerdotis simplicis videtur minor, cum status suus et obligacio prodessendi ecclesie sit predictis inferior.

As for the inferior priest who must help the Rector, want of instruction and occupation often entangles him in pride, and in worldly and fleshly tendencies. Such should study Scripture or educate youth, and carefully avoid all simony in entering on their office, in discharging its duties, and in protecting their flocks from the rapacity of others. But simple priests seem to sin less grievously than the higher ranks of the clergy.

5. \bar{d}_3 = debent C; *ib.* se *deest* A. 6. ve A. 12. concesso B.
13. de *pro* pro C. 17. dicunt A. 19. defendere *in marg.* C. 20. officiales . . . fratres *omnes* MSS.

CAPITULUM TREDECIMUM.

The ninth
tormentor is
the monk: i. e.
the member
of an order that
has possessions.
Such are in the
Church like a
hectic fever.

They claim
Church
property as a
heritage, and
more worldly
than laymen,
they
blasphemously
say that their
life is like
Christ's.

As a fact, a
population
equal to that
of England
could be
maintained on
their immense
revenues,
which if not sent
abroad to the
loss of the
kingdom, lie
useless in their
monasteries.

Merchants and
warriors
sometimes
cause great loss,
but sometimes
much gain to
the
commonwealth;

Sequitur nonus tortor, qui est monachus, canonicus,
frater quomodolibet variatus, dum tamen possessionatus.
Omnes, inquam, tales ad hoc propositum habeo pro
eodem. Isti autem profundius perturbant rempublicam, 5
sicut febris ethica plus consumit de humido radicali.
Habent enim ex diuturniori possessione plus inviscata
temporalibus aliquam rationem maioris malicie, quam
mendici. Isti enim vendicant ut hereditatem bona ecclesie,
et plus alienati a bono religionis, minori | prodesse- 10
et maiori perturbacione reipublice, plus blasfemant. Licet
enim vivant secularibus plus seculariter, tamen blas-
femant quod vivunt Cristo magis similiter; et sic quo
ad deum et homines magis perturbant rempublicam.

Nam, ut loquar sensibiliter de redditibus et mortificatis 15
ecclesiis, posset conservari in Anglia tantus populus
quantum est residuum secularium regni nostri; et iudicet
expertus, quanta ingluvie tot temporalia abscondite sunt
consumpta, et quomodo regnum nostrum ex defectu
yconomie tam in hominibus quam terre fructibus sterile- 20
scit. Et ex superhabundante cautela diaboli, sicut pecunia
proditoria clericorum symoniace missa ad externos
prodigalibus, bona regni dirimit; sic thesaurus instagnatus
in dictis cenobiis ad utilitatem reipublice non ebullit.

Prima pars patet in considerando reliquum thesaurum 25
regni, qui ad eius dampnum sepe consumitur. Nam
mercantes et bellantes, quandoque thesaurum regni
exhauriunt sine equivalencia, et sepe superhabundanter
inferunt ad bonorum regni notabile incrementum. Sed

1. Cap. *deest*, 13 in marg. B; Cam 13 in red ink C. 2. Initial S in
red ink. 3. prepositus A. 4. propositum heo C. 8. modo pro
aliquam B. 12. sclariuß aliis secularibus C. 15. redditibus A.
18, 19. tot — quomodo *deest* C. 23. diminuit BC; *ib.* sicut pro sic AB.
27. quando B.

- regulariter peccunia pro beneficiis cleri transmissa ad
curiam infructuose consumitur, nisi forte inducat symo-
niacum regnicolam venenantem. Nam ut sic plus tollera-
biles sunt papa et cardinales qui thesaurum regni
5 cautelose exhauriunt, quia a distanciori et tardiori in-
toxicant. Et 2^a pars patet ex hoc quod defunctus in
seculo reliquit sibi omnia bona fortune que remanent;
et sic sepe prudenter in seculo disperguntur. Sed bona
religiosi mortui sepe ad eorum putrefactionem et per
10 consequens ad regni dispendium absconduntur. Patet
hoc ex vestimentis, libris, et aliis thesauris in corbano
patris sui absconditis, que diabolus consumit putredine,
redigens sine usu eorum vel fructu in loca subterranea,
ubi residuum thesauri sui absconditur. Et sic ex cautela
15 sua consumuntur superflue maxime sumptuosa.
- B.** Sed tales thesaurarii discerent proverbium captum
de herbis, arboribus et arbustis, que sicut capiunt a
terra vigorem humoris quam sugunt solis adminiculo
de eius visceribus in estate, sic reddunt folia cum aliis
20 mortificandis bruinali tempore, ut superficies terre pro
futuro germine sui generis apcius sit fimata. Isti autem
abeunt perverso ordine nature, ac si vellent creare
novum mundum vel antiquum extinguere. Tales autem
religiosi, bis mortui, cum morte naturali vitam istam
25 finierunt, non reddunt hec seculo, a quo omnia ista
exhauserant, sed principi tenebrarum, cuius robore,
non virtute solis iusticie, hec omnia sacrilege exsuxerunt.
Et hec pars se extendit ad omnes claustrales vel alios
conglobatos irregulariter titulo perpetuitatis, eciam ad
30 mendicos.
- Istam autem venenosam virulenciam niterentur reges
et omnes cristicole secundum posse suum extrudere;
nedum quia inevitabiliter et innaturaliter pauperat et
perturbat rempublicam, verum quia manifeste vergit
35 ad dei iniuriam. Quis igitur secularis expectaret licenciam
sive decretum anticristi in talibus? quin potius pro causa
dei tanquam aliter Moyses fureret, et saltem inanimata
instrumenta diaboli conquassaret? Sic enim omnes la-
pides politi, omnes sculpture aurifabri, et omnes artis
40 humane fabrice pro suo tempore consumantur. Omnia

but monks are a
continual loss;
the money sent
to Rome for the
benefices of the
clergy is less
hurtful, for at
least the Roman
Pontiff is at a
distance.

When a layman
dies, his fortune
is more or less
spread about to
good purpose;
when a monk
dies, all he has
remains in the
convent and
become
completely
useless.

Let them
consider that
plants take
juices from the
earth in summer
which they give
back as dead
leaves to
manure it in
autumn; but
monks reverse
the order of
nature.

This is also
true of
mendicant
Friars.

Such deadly
infection should
be put a stop to
by Kings and by
all Christians,
without waiting
for leave from
Rome.

3. venantem AC. 11. de libris B; *ib.* corbana C. 15. consumitur A;
consumuntur C. 16. thesauri A. 19. aliis *deest* B. 20. mortificandum A;
mortificandum B. 21. futuro tempore germine A. 31. *veofa* A; *ib.*
verulenciam C. 35. addicitur A. 39, 40. et — fabrice *in marg.* C.

Whatever is
 against God's
 will must
 perish: witness
 the lives lost in
 the late revolt,
 when the
 clergy was
 certainly
 punished for
 its own fault.

The people, it
 is true, though
 guided by an
 instinct of
 justice, did not
 act quite
 legally.

It is better that
 princes should
 take away
 temporal
 possessions
 than that the
 peasants
 should kill an
 Archbishop.

The peasants
 saw what was
 wrong, but
 were cruel in
 the punishment
 they inflicted.

It would have
 been easy to
 arrest this
 evil, if the clergy
 had voluntarily
 and most nobly
 given up their
 possessions to
 pay the tax.

enim talia, que non sunt voluntas domini, miserabiliter
 terminantur. Sicut in parte patet nobis anglicis de isto
 lamentabili conflictu populi, in quo archiepiscopus prior
 et alii multi crudeliter sunt occisi. Nec dubium fideli,
 cum omnis pena sit racione peccati, quod peccatum 5
 populi est in causa. Et cum non sit pertinencius clerum
 predictum puniri 2^m aliquam 5^e causarum punicionis
 hominis quam propter peccatum sui vel sui generis
 puniendum, videtur quod predictum genus in penam sui
 peccati meruit sic puniri. Non enim sunt puniti, ut 10
 Cristus, pro peccatis aliorum, non suis, nec nude racione
 meriti et glorie argumentande. Ideo non superest, nisi
 ut clerus in penam peccati sui vel sui generis puniatur.
 Nec dubium quin tantum malum solum initium sit
 dolorum, cum clerus infinitum maius demeruit; nec 15
 dubium quin punitores, licet maiores bonos instinctus
 habuerint, non plene fecerunt ad regulam. Dictum est
 enim quod domini temporales possunt auferre temporalia
 ab ecclesia delinquente: quod foret tollerabilius, quam
 quod rurales auferant vitam carnalem a capitali pre- 20
 posito ecclesie delinquente. Dictum est, tam ex parte
 regis quam presbiteri, quod sacerdotes, et omnino curati,
 non debent familiari et seculari regis servicio mancipari.
 Vulgares in facto practisant quod curati debent propterea C
 decolari. Dictum est quod abbates et religiosi possessionati 25
 debent incarcerationa bona pauperum ad relevamen communi-
 tatis transfundere: Vulgares dicunt in opere quod prelati
 religiosi sunt occasiones retencionis huiusmodi avare; prop-
 terea occidendi sunt. Et hec videtur nimis crudelis punicio.
 Nec dubium quin moderate et prudenter predonans 30
 temporalia posset totum hoc malum faciliter extinxisse.
 Nam causa huius patencior dicitur exaccio peccunie 60
 ultra vires a populo; si igitur clerus possessionatus,
 thesaurarius bonorum pauperum, reddidisset regi ipsorum
 pedagium, quomodo staret ista dissensio, inferens tantum 35
 malum? O quam gloriosa foret hec comutacio bonorum

4. fidei AB. 8. quapropter C. 10. puniti deest A. 17. gloriam AC.
 18. temporales C. 21. ecclesie deest A. 24. Wlgares A (et sic postea) C.
 27. quod deest A. 29. sunt deest AC. 31. tpa^m poff³ A. 32. po-
 tencior B. 34. regi deest A.

4. *Occisi*. This doubtless alludes to the revolt of the presants
 with Wat Tyler at their head. The prelate slain was Simon of
 Sudbury, archbishop of Caunterbury.

comunium, qua, reservato clero usque sufficienciam ad
 alimentum et tegumentum, satisfaceret vulgo per bonum
 cleri residuum! Revera defendens contrarium indicat se
 discipulum Scarioth avaricia vendentis dominum. Illis
 5 enim est carior superfluitas temporalium quam tot
 mortes et perturbaciones hominum; et tunc indubie,
 eciam de illo quod videntur habere, non possident quic-
 quam iuste. Quomodo, queso, diceretur possessor vesci-
 bilium, qui quotquot vescibulum habens facultatem
 10 liberam, ex parcitate avara fingit se mori famelicum?
 Ille autem est multo magis dampnabilis, qui procuratorio
 nomine occupat monetam ecclesie, ut faciat sibi et
 egenis amicos de mamona, et tamen propter accidiam
 facit se ipsum et alios tam corpore quam anima deperire.
 15 Talis est indignus fungi sacerdocio vel officio procu-
 ratorio, cum nec sibi ipsi nec aliis sit amicus. Et necesse
 est quod talis prelatus suos ducat subditos in precipitium
 ruine.

Nec fingat yppocrita quod reddicio patrimonii cruci-
 20 fixi pro populo nimis sero succederet; nec licet cum
 illo patrimonio pascere principes seculares; quia quo ad
 primum certum est quod ex cecitate prelati nimis sero
 successerat. Debet enim prelatus secundum Ezechielis
 vaticinium esse speculator subditis, et de eis necessariis
 25 pro cavendo periculo circumspectus; et quo ad secundum
 iudicet ecclesia, si conglobantur temporalia ista menda-
 citer pro tante pascendis anticristi discipulis vel in
 D. tempore oportuno pro protegendis pauperibus, eciam
 supposito quod super eos principes tyrannisent. Item,
 30 notum videtur quod origo huius discordie sit debellacio
 exterorum; sed focus et concilium huius debellacionis
 sunt clerici et prelati: ergo tocius malicie consequentis.
 Si enim non sic debellarent exteros, non sic spoliaretur
 regnum nostrum pecunia et personis, a quibus deficiens
 35 oportet suos intrinsecos spoliare; quia, dum thesaurus
 bellanti deficiat, necesse est quod spoliet de egenis.
 Non enim asuescit in bello sic moribus vel laboricio,
 ut veniens in regnum proprium contineat se ab iniuriis
 eciam proximi, cum mala consuetudo suscitatur sibi prolem.

And whoso
 thinks
 otherwise
 prefers these
 superfluous
 riches to the
 lives of men.
 They are not
 even real
 possessors, for
 like misers
 they put their
 money to no
 use.

Such prelates
 lead their
 subjects to ruin.

Let them not
 say "it is too
 late to restore
 this property
 to the people,
 and we must
 not give it to
 princes".
 The Church
 should be
 judge of the
 employment
 of this
 property.

The clergy who
 stirred up the
 war are
 responsible for
 the exactions
 which led to
 the late revolt.
 Moreover the
 the soldiers are
 trained in
 habits of
 marauding.

1. ultra AC; *ib.* ad *deest* A. 9. vestiū C. 8. sinit BC. 17. sub-
 lectos *after* talis B; *ib.* suos *twice* C; *ib.* ducat *deest* AC; *ib.* discordie
 et BC. 22. certum *twice* A; *ib.* quod *deest* B. 26. iudicem C.
 32. ergo *deest* A. 35. thesaurus B. 36. bellandi A.

Non enim tantum meruerunt predones in peregrinatione huiusmodi, ut forent amplius in moribus confirmati; cum Yes. 33^o dicit spiritus: *Ve, qui predaris, nonne et ipse predaberis?* Isa. XXXIII

Ideo medicina foret cum temporalibus saciare predantes; curiositate yconomie, et exhortacione salubri ad fideliter vivendum de propriis. Nunc autem dicitur quod clerus perquirat redditus de talibus, et hoc pro indigencia viliori foro quo sciverit. Et quo ad exhortacionem ewangelicam vel corporum relevamen, patet¹⁰ quod clerus nedum ut plurimum obmutescit; sed viis et modis bellatores ad malum exasperat; et cum prelati debent rogare, consulere, et hortari *que ad pacem sunt ierusalem*, dicitur quod tamquam auctores bellorum hortantur ad pugnam, cum per ipsos tamquam capitales concilii parliamentum regitur etiam in minoribus negociis, dum ipsa cordi habuerint, ut vendicant, tanquam pars spiritualis principalior concilii regni nostri. Et ita videtur quod cupiunt quod principales domini, per quos voluntas eorum restringitur, sive bene sive male, deprimentur: cum assistencia eorum sit attomus per quem sua effrenis voluntas quodammodo ineditur; sed de futuris periculis et dampno reipublice non curatur. Ideo necesse est hos prelatos luere hic et alibi vel ubicumque.

Item quo ad fratres, videtur quod non sunt expertes²⁵ huius facinoris, cum clamare debent publice predicando, private hortando habendum pacem et concordiam, si fieri potest, cum omni homine: sed vel obmutescunt, vel clamant contrarium. Ideo sunt rei huius criminis concilio vel consensu. Cum enim fratres sunt generaliter confessores³⁰ et conciliarii dominorum, quomodo aufugeret eos factum dominorum publicum, concernens forum consciencie et utilitatem reipublice? Si sunt disciplinabiles, debent sane consulere. Si autem sunt indisciplinares, debent secundum formam ewangelii ipsos relinquere. Sed laetitia extra claustrum, inordinata affectio ad defendendum ordinem suum privatum, et questus symoniacus temporalium non permittunt: in tantum quod fructus confessionis confunditur, dum ipsa sit venalis hereditaria

They should be cured by prudent gifts and exhortations; instead of which, the clergy seeks to make money out of them, and irritate them in many ways, by means of their great influence in Parliament,

in order, it is said, to stir up civil war and reduce the power of the nobility which makes against that influence.

The Friars are also responsible for these dissensions, at least by their silence; they should, as confessors of the temporal lords, give them advice, and if not listened to, abandon them.

But luxury, the interests of the Order and greed for things temporal keep them there, when they could do

3. nomine A; non B. 7. a pro ad A. 10. relevamen A.
19. volu^B A; voluptas B. 20. depriment B. 21. quo pro per quem B.
2. voluptas B. 24. luere deest AC. 25. Ideo B. 27. ordando A.
30. regulariter BC. 36. castrorum A; castrum C.

et permixta. Venalis: si procuratur assidue ut predicator frater sit custos anime maioris domini vel domine, indubie symoniace propter lucrum, cum sancior, edificacior et tractabilior sit comuniter anima vulgaris simplicis, quam potentis. Quis enim, vel pauperes vel divites, plus profuerunt ecclesie? Ideo causa est patule symoniaca, non divina, cum preponderanter fratres procurant custodire animas mundi potencium; quia intendendo obturare eorum maliciam, labor fratrum appareret sensibiliter in effectu. Sed modo videtur contrarium.

Ymmo, cum periculum huius custodie sit tam arduum, tum propter salutem reipublice, tum etiam propter salvacionem perpetuam tam corporis quam anime confessi, quod excedit curam ordinariam prelatorum. Sed diabolus introducit hanc subdolum confessionem in fratribus, ut eorum introductio extraordinaria inducat media per que decipitur Cristi sponsa. Unde suboritur cautela diaboli, qua fratres vendicant; hii, quod sint confessores regum, hii reginarum, hii ducum, hii comitum; et, ut eorum ars confessionalis fiat accepcior, accumulunt multiplex alienum officium: ut artem sanandi, domum prudenter regendi, et quecunque negocia extrinseca maiora vel minora prudencius et facilius promovendi. Sed fructus negotii et peioracio secularis domini preconisant cautelas diaboli. Necesse quidem est ut subintroduca novitate et multiplicitate sectarum et rituum supra ordinacionem Cristi, ecclesia multipliciter perturbetur.

Cuius perturbacionis fratres probabiliter sunt in causa: quia spiritualis infirmitas in animabus mundi potencium perturbacionem talem parturit, ut patet Jac. . . . Et ratio experimentalis convincit, cum discrasiato principio policie necesse est totam rempublicam perturbari. Cum igitur fratres, qui ad custodiam anime et morum magnorum se obligant, sunt causa privativa casus sui, sicut naute absencia est causa periclitacionis navis, manifestum est iuxta hoc principium: *Quicquid est causa cause, est causa causati*, quod fratres sunt indirecte causa totius perturbacionis in ecclesia. Unde, quando lucrum sonatur,

much more good among the people; for if the nobility had profited by their presence, it would have been more manifestly fruitful.

The responsibility is so great here, that very few are equal to the task; yet they intrigue in every way to get good places, and try to ingratiate themselves by practising the medical art, &c. But these are clever tricks of the devil, as the results show.

As the absence of the mariner puts the ship in danger, and the cause of the cause is the cause of what is caused, the Friars, by their neglect of souls, are indirectly the cause of the present troubles in the Church. When gain is to be had they would rule the Church; but when it

1. predicacior A; ut predicator sit frater sit custos C. 8. potentum C.
14. ordinanciam A. 15. in deest A. 17. subofici^o A. 21. accumulat A.
31. talem pro perturbacionem A; ib. talem deest C; ib. after Jac. blank space omnes MSS. 33. necesse deest A. 34. fratres deest A.
35. privata omnes MSS. 39. ecclesie BC.

comes to
appeasing
dissensions,
they are
mute. Yet when
they take in
charge the
souls of the
great, they have
much stricter
duties to fulfil
towards the
Church.

If an earthly
treasure cannot
be squandered
with impunity,
should a
treasure much
more precious
be squandered?

An Archbishop
cannot be a
Chancellor; it
is the most
secular office
in the kingdom.
How could he
convoke the
clergy, taken in
the same snare
of worldliness
as himself, and
excommuni-
cated?
unless as an
arch-devil,
calling to his
little ones.

Such a prelate
is a traitor to
the king and the
kingdom; being
a traitor to
God, whatever
he does is
wrong. And
this malice, long
accumulated,
will at length
ruin the State.

figunt se spiritualiter regere totam ecclesiam, prelatos, populum, et magnates; sed quando raciocinium acutum daretur populo de fructuosa diligencia placandi ecclesiam, obmutescunt. Et tamen certum est quod in quantum accipiunt spirituales custodiam dominorum, stricte obli-⁵gant se persone ecclesie, que debet ut dignior curare precipue de virtute regitiva dominorum secularium et in subvertentes eos securius vindicari. Si enim thesaurus temporalis prodigaliter consumatur, penalis compotus a persona populi acute requiritur; multo magis strictius¹⁰ obligatus ex consumptione thesauri infinitum plus preciosi et necessarii, quantumlibet gravius punietur? Sed princeps huius seculi pulvere temporalium infideliter excecatur mundo deditum; nec dubium quin omnia genera religiosorum et curatorum secularium participant hoc reatu.¹⁵

Quid, rogo, pertinet ad archiepiscopum occupare cancellariam regis, que est secularissimum regni officium? Numquid superest in tam lata provincia episcopo occupacio spiritualis? Numquid presul debet convocare clerum anathematicum, quia contra legem dei et homi-²⁰num et secularissimis regis officiis implicatum, sed sub gravi dei malediccione ad contrarium obligatum? Non videtur aliud, nisi quod archidiabolus congregat minores diabolos, pullos suos, non solum ad ludendum paginam ludicram patris sui, sed tamquam tortorum demonia-²⁵corum caterva, spoliando alios simplices (secundum artem magistri sui) bonis gracie et fortune; et quod detestabilius est, in derisionem despectivam pro confirmatione istorum crux Cristi blasfeme erigitur. Numquid 3^o credimus prelatum talem, deo et sue ecclesie proditorem,³⁰ esse regi et regno fidelem prepositum vel ministrum? Constat contrarium, cum ex fide capitur quod quicumque est infidelis vel proditor Cristi aut sue ecclesie, est infidelis et proditor cuicumque; quia debet fideliter servire deo cum sua ecclesia. Sed, deessente servicio³⁵ dei, licet faciat bonum de genere, totum residuum est infectum. Nec dubium quin, si clerus Anglie persolveret deo et ecclesie id quod debet, non foret ecclesia nostra

3. pacandi C. 4. cum C. 8. iudicari A. 10. acute A; acqute,
in marg. acute C; ib. fructus pro striccius AC. 20. anathema C. 21. regis
twice A; negociis BC. 23. archidiaconus AC. 24. diabolicos B.
34. vel pro cum A; quod fide C.

16. Simon of Sudbury was, or had lately been Chancellor.

intricata cautelis diaboli, sicut hodie venenatur. Sed necesse est ut antiqua malicia diu colecta inundet subito, faciendo regnum corruere; quia sic ex congregacione aquarum lacuna dirumpitur, ex accumulacione ponderum supportans dissolvitur, et ex corrosione vermium lignum atteritur.

Et ita, si queratur cur non antea, respondet scriptura Genesis: *Nondum impleta est iniquitas Amoreorum*. Si enim regnum perficeret septem opera misericordie duplicata, olim fuisset in via confirmacionis secundum legem dei emendatum. Ut, si primo declinaverit a malo fontis pestiferi, excludendo de regno colectores peccunie, non virtutum, provisores alienigenas a cura regendi oves secundum Cristum, sed pure obediat eis (rebellando peccatis eorum), de quanto docent naturalitate implicita legem Cristi; nec regnum nostrum debet aliquam hostem pestiferum post diabolum plus horrere. Postquam autem declinaverit ab hoc malo 3^{ci}, debet regnum nostrum, et specialiter clerus suus actus spiritualis misericordie seminare; primo, docendo | non legem Machometi, sed dei, quomodo servi, filii, et specialiter clerici, debent subici dominis, parentibus et omni homini, paciendi iniurias et reddendo deo gratias; domini autem, parentes et prepositi debent, ut servi dei, tractare subditos cum amore; quia ambo debent servire deo et sibi ipsis proficere secundum regulam caritatis, ut docet apostolus ad Eph. 6^o. Secundo debent consulere, non ad terrenum dominium conquirendum, non ad copiam temporalium possidendum, nec ad vivendum secundum carnis petulantiam, ut vivunt qui renunt cenam Cristi, sed ut sint humiles, vocati et electi pro merito ad gustandum cum domino cenam magnam, de qua Luc. 14. Tercio debent secundum scolam predictam, sive hortando sive puniendo, subditos castigare. Quarto debent consolari secundum spem retribucionis perpetue mestos animo et confractos. Quinto debent iniuriantibus suis prudenter remittere. Sexto debent inproperantes secundum virtutem paciencie supportare. Et septima debent pro tota ecclesia, eciam pro hostibus, obsecrare. Quibus si adiuncta fuerint septem alia opera misericordie, et in tempore oportuno pasta ecclesia,

This ruin may not take place, if the realm i. departs from evil: i. e. turns, out the money collectors, excludes foreigners from the government of Churches, or obeys them only in so far as Christ's law allows; and if 2. it practises the seven works of spiritual mercy. teaching all Christians their duties towards one another,

giving good counsel, tending to make men live a Christian life,

reproving and punishing those set under them, comforting the afflicted, forgiving injuries, bearing insults patiently, and praying for their enemies; also practising the corporal works of mercy.

2. antiqua A. 8. amorreorum C. 10. aliter AB. 15. eorum deest A. 16. ut C. 19. actus suos; suos deest A. 22. pntib) = presentibus A. 27. ad Eph. 6^o deest BC. 28. non deest C. 33. ortado C.

By this means
the Church
would have the
spiritual food
that it so much
needs.

It is the want of
this food that
causes such
desolation in
the country;
contraries cause
contraries; and
greed destroys
charity, breaks
up the bond of
union between
Christians;
thence ensues
pitiless cruelty,
and houses, sects
and provinces
fall upon each
other.

The punishment
lately inflicted
on the clergy by
the people,
though deserved,
was excessive:
1. in degree;
they having no
revelation from
God to act thus.
What belongs to
the State can
be taken by the
State; but life
is a gift of God.

To say: "We
should not
take away
temporalities,
but remove by
death those who
abuse them", is
an ill-considered
position.

To take a man's
life is indeed to
take away his
temporalities;
but our faith
teaches that he
should live on
alms.

refecta foret et non famelica; sic quod pro defectu spiritualis cibarii sese altrinsecus innaturaliter manducarent.

Defectus igitur huius cibi, et specialiter in clero, est causa quare regnum nostrum a deo desolatur. Nam cum contrariorum contrarie sunt cause, et cristicole debent esse *miseriordes, quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequuntur*, ut dicitur Matth. 5^o; oportet contrario sensu quod *Matth. V, 7^o* crudeles et specialiter famelici desolentur. Nam invida proprietatis terrenorum cupiditas extinguit et discontinuat caritatem; et per consequens, iuxta vocem Cristi, faciendo *Regnum in se divisum* parturit desolacionem. Nam fortitudo regni atque constancia insurgit ex parcium unitate cordi coherencia, et omnino ex eorum discontinuacione venit contrarium, et per consequens domus unius magnatis, unius secte et unius provincie cadet supra domum aliam, deficiente caritatis glutino supportante; et sic, ex consumpcione reciproca parcium regni, in pulverem ipsum regnum necessario desolabitur.

Et licet clerici mereantur puniri tali decapicione, et acrius, tamen videtur michi quod populus in hoc excedit quantitate, qualitate et modo. Quantitate, quia blasphemum esset populum assumere super se tantam vindictam, nisi habuerit a deo revelacionem ad taliter puniendum. Illud igitur accidentale quod regnum sibi tribuit, cum deturpat episcopum et impedit episcopale officium, meritorium foret regno, servato bono nature, subtrahere; tum, quia illud bonum nature est singulariter donum dei, tum eciam, quia ignoratur si utilis esset ecclesie et persone decapitate mori aliter, [ut] debuit post vel ante. Unde in isto contendunt quidam inaniter, dicentes quod ecclesia non debet aufferre temporalia a clero delinquente, sed ipsum clericum a temporalibus, datis aliis qui recte peragant cleri officium. Primo, quia sequitur: *Ecclesia aufferet clerum a temporalibus*; igitur *aufferet ipsa temporalia ab illo clero*. Et cum quolibet persona sit omnibus temporalibus mundi natura dignior, et modus loquendi sit scripture sacre accepcior, patet quod sic blaterantes ad nimis pauca respiciunt. Item, intencio fidei est quod clerus privetur

8. a contrario B. 12. in se deest C. 28. tamen omnes MSS.
30. esset deest AC; ib. capitante C; ut deest omnes MSS. 40. irasci
in marg. A.

- a possessione hereditaria mundana vivendo de elemosinis, ut Cristus instituit; sed illud exprimit prior logica; 2^a vel palliat vel confundit. Ideo prior implenda est et 2^a tanquam sophistica respuenda. Nam occidens episcopum aufert eum a temporalibus; sed ewangelium dicit *Matth. XXV*, servos dei *aufferere mnam* ab indebite occupante, sed non dicit occupantem auferendum a possessione que sibi accidit. Ideo bene stetit ecclesie, antequam introducti sunt fratres, qui contra caput proprium sic locuntur. 10 Debit igitur regnum auferre temporalia ab episcopo, cum ex illa habicione venit tota prodicio.
- 2^o deficit populus in qualitate, sic occidendo episcopum; quia examinaret causam mortis, et responsum accusati, si fuerit rationi consonum. Sed istam rabiem 15 prophetavit quidam frater Londoniis ignarus vocis proprie, cum asseruit publice hominem sine responso conburendum tanquam hereticum; et tamen nec auditur eum nec scivit suam sententiam, aut cum qua protestacione vel quo animo sit locutus. Ideo taliter diffinire hominem 20 esse hereticum taliter puniendum excedit luciferinam insaniam, cum iuxta anticristinam stulticiam, extollitur super deum. Deus enim non potest dampnare hominem, nisi precognoverit causam rationabilem quare taliter sit dampnandus. Sed iste apostota dicit sibi licere hec 25 facere. Unde preceo pessimus dirum exitum prophetisat, quia regni turbacionem: utinam non destruccionem! Nicodemus autem ut fertur, religiosius isto demonio *pan. I, 51* meridiano locutus est, Joh. 7^o. "*Numquid, inquit, lex nostra iudicat etc.*"
- 30 3^o deficit populus in modo agendi multiplici. Primo, quia proditores forinsecos, licet spirituales, plus subdolos debuit plus punire. 2^o, quia nullo modo debuit contra seculares dominos taliter attemptare. Et 3^o, quia expectari debet tocus regni exhortacio sive consilium.
- 35 Sed supposito errore, videndum est quomodo secundum legem debeat emendari; et videtur michi quod 67 error | de quo comunitas gravatur et debet conqueri, primo omnium debet rectificari, cum vetat iustificaciones que postea sequerentur. Est enim error intollerabilis 40 quod rex vel alius dominus regni super eius populum

In the Gospel the slothful servant only loses the talent.

2. In kind. There was no form of justice, no examination of the accused; just as a certain Friar in London said should be done to a man that he judged to be a heretic. God Himself never condemns without just reason; so this apostate sets himself above God!

Nicodemus was better inspired.

3. In manner. Punishment should be meted out according to the fault; temporal lords must in no case be attacked; and the advice of the whole kingdom ought to be taken. Though wrong, they had grievances that should be redressed, so as to put an end to such acts.

1. mundana in marg. A. 2. prior deest A. 4. 5. episcopum in marg. A. 6. nam pro mnam B. 7. occupante pro occupantem CA. 20. luciferinam, 21. anticristinam deest C. 27. autem deest C. 29. iudicat etc deest A.

All tyranny and need-
less exactions on
the part of
temporal lords
should cease; tyranniset. Sicud enim miles debet esse contentus stipen-
diis suis, ut patet Lu. 3^o, sic reges et subdomini debent
tenere se in limitibus suorum reddituum, ne propter
causam irrationabilem imponant tenentibus suis tallagia,
cum in extorsione tali iacet iniuria clamorosa, ut patet 5
Exod 3^o et Jac. 2^o. Idem enim foret seculares dominos
se ipsos destruere et subditos suos taliter spoliare, ut
patet de Roboam 3ⁱ Reg. 12. Sed secundus error in-
sensibilis vulgo est quo bona regni sunt ad curiam
Romanam, et in inimicos externos devoluta. Sed 3^{us} error
quantitate maior est, quo populus per clerum intrin-
secum omnis generis spoliatur. Quomodo, inquam, foret
rex vel dominus, qui subditos suos non potenter defen-
deret a raptoribus istis sacrilegis, vel quo iure caperet
redditus et tallagia subditorum, qui renuit ipsos defen-
dere ab hostibus inermibus, ita domesticis, a quibus
posset tam faciliter ipsos defendere, et ex spoliis, par-
cendo populo, regnum regere? Omnes autem tradiciones
a pseudoclericis adinventas debet destruere, et quietari
in sola lege dei cum iure regni, ne admittat superflua, 20

This would give
us a kingdom in
which every
thing should be
regulated by
God's law.
Dissensions
amongst the
nobles, and still
more between
the nobles and
the people,
ought to be
carefully
avoided. regnum et specialiter legem dei turbancia. Et sic staret
regnum purgatum a spiritualibus erroribus, regulatum
pure vel principaliter lege dei. Quo habito, oportet
omnino diligenter cavere, ne sit dissensio inter dominos
seculares, temporales et communes de populo; et magis 25
inter dominos ad se ipsos; sed maxime, quod non sit
turbativa contrarietas inter dominos et vulgares regni
nostri, disparium causa contrariorum; quia tunc ad
destruccionem regni foret demonium meridianum susci-
tatum. 30

Three
Objections.
1. This theory
would diminish
the royal
prerogative.
But this
prerogative
itself depends on
the law of God;
flattering
traditions
destroy it.
Patience under
wrong will Sed obicitur quod dicta ymaginacio non consonat
regalie, nec iuri purganti delicta comissa, nec incucienti
timorem, ne alias sic delinquat. Sed quantum ad pri-
mum, dicitur quod necesse est regaliam regis et omnes
leges humanas regi per legem dei, licet sit suppeditata 35
hodie; vel aliter sunt prophane. Ideo lex dei regaliam
regis conservat precipue; et alie tradiciones consumunt
adulatorie iura regis. Ideo, sicut regalia Cristi per pa-
cienciam maioris iniurie crevit ad summum, sic, stante

4. collegia A. 5. in *deest* B. 9. *wlgo* AC; *ib.* regi A. 10. istos *pro*
inimicos A; *ib.* Et *pro* sed BC. 15. collegia A. 26. duces *pro*
dominos B. 27. *wlgares* AC. 28. causatorum A; contrariarum C.
29. regni *deest* A. 31. obieccio *in marg.* B; non *deest* A. 32. viri B;
iuri, *in marg.* iuri C. 33. delinquant C. 35. sit *deest* C

fide scripture, regalie alie temporales per pacienciam talis iniurie suscipient incrementum: et procurans oppositum cece supprimit regnum nostrum.

increase this prerogative, as it did for Christ.

- Quo ad 2^m obiectum, patet quod luciferinus est, qui 5 propter maius commodum non defert deo tantas iniurias vindicare. Ymmo, deus preordinavit, si dignamur capere quomodo regnum foret purgatum secundum legem dei, rectificatum eciam suo beneplacito conformiter, regulatum per ius Cristi, evacuatis privilegiis cesareis intro-
- 10 ductis finaliter. Igitur debet regnum satisfacere dominis secularibus iniuriatis de bonis Cristi ditissimi atque suorum pauperum, cum de illis sit rationabilius impleri iusticiam propter multa. Primo, quia deus est in illis sufficiencior ad pacem populi redimendam; 2^o, quia
- 15 illa sunt bona magis superflua, cum quibus ecclesie symoniace et sacrilege pregravantur. Et 3^o, quia pseudo-clerici, ut patet ex dictis, sunt radix tocius turbacionis et comisse iniurie. Gloriosa, inquam, foret talis mutacio, qua parceretur multitudini, et sopita ceca tradicione
- 20 principum, Cristi primeva ordinacio eluceret. Unde in minori cause preconio comendat Augustinus factum beati Aurelii, qui in minori necessitate reddidit collata sue ecclesie brachio seculari. Sic enim secundum Augustinum
- K. "debutit iure poli". Et recitatur 17, q. 4^a. *Quicunque*.
- 25 Sic igitur felix foret qui pacificaret regnum adeo turbatum tam monstruosa possessione temporalium servata ad hoc in manibus clericorum. Unde probabile videtur quod deus ordinavit totam istam turbacionem et eius quietacionem media ad hunc finem.
- 30 Quantum ad 3^m obiectum, notum est quod timor filialis, qui amore gignitur, est securior et perseverancior quam servilis. Existente igitur toto cleri patrimonio in manu regis et secularium dominorum, ex illa societate, prudenter parcendo populo, tolleretur occasio sic iterum
- 35 delinquendi. Nam iuxtaponendo (quod absit), vindictam hominum, vel bellice subito occidendo vel extinguendo convictos paulative secundum leges Anglie, sequeretur omnino inconveniens Anglie destructivum. Nam iuxta

II. It would take away the power of punishing the crimes committed. But such punishment should be left to God.

Besides, we possess by God's grace the means of regenerating the kingdom; and the goods of the clergy, i. e. of the poor, might compensate the temporal lords for their losses.

This would restore peace, disburden the Church of superfluous riches, and punish the bad clergy, cause of all the mischief, while sparing the people.

Augustine praises a similar act, done in circumstances of less necessity.

III. It would destroy all fear to commit these crimes in future. But filial is better than slavish fear; and it would remove the occasion of crimes.

Whether those men are put to death in battle or by law, there will follow

7. sop^gatū A. 12. ipsijs C 15. ecclesie magis C. 16. pregratur omnes MSS; ib. perseudo A. 18. glosa A. 19. in pro et A. 21. beatus Aug. B; beatus deest C 28. eiusque C. 36. subiecto omnes MSS. 38. destructum A; destructum C.

24. Decr. Grat., 2^a Pars., C^a XVII, qu. 4, c. I.

hatred and treason in the kingdom; in the first case, the issue will be doubtful; in the second, the punishment will last longer.

primum, cum pars communitatis sit forcior, foret ambiguum in manu dei, que pars aliam superaret; et sequeretur undiquaque regni destruccio, et invidie perpetuacio, et omnino post invasionem hostilem forinsecam fallax prodictio et undique seductiva regni enervacio; 5 2^a autem via non differt ab ista, nisi quod pena foret diuturnior et sic maior. Amoveat igitur deus istam vindicativam superbiam, et inducat istam lenitivam iusticiam et religionis quam Cristus instituit inductivam. Nec caderet periculum in prudenti eius practica quo ad 10 deum vel homines, licet sathan et vecordia et yppocrisi exterreat mundiales.

But so long as the clergy does not amend, the Church will suffer; and both clergy and laity are here to blame.

A king who takes a priest from the service of the altars to his own service, is like a steward who would take a servant from watching over his lord's treasury.

One would be unfaithful to God, the other to his master.

Et, ut dicam breviter, antequam corrigatur clerus per quem pacificaretur | ecclesia, non erit in penam 68^a illius criminis inturbata, et specialiter propter symoniam, 15 in qua tam clerici quam seculares communicant. Quis, inquam, fidelis dubitat quin reges aut quicunque domini seculares distrahentes curatos a dei ministerio et mancipantes suo officio seculari, sunt proditores dei et sancte matris ecclesie, et per consequens merentur quod 20 suum dominium sit dupliciter invasum ab hostibus et undique perturbatum? Suppono autem ex fide quod omnis secularis dominus quantumcunque dives aut nobilis sit mendicus, servus et villicus dei sui; patet Matth. 6 et Luce 16. Si igitur ballivus domini temporalis con- 25 duceret ex thesauro illius domini tamquam servus eius ad illud fidele ministerium obligatus, servum perneccsarium ad custodiam thesauri precipui domini sui, et post conduccionem alienans servum a ministerio domini mancipat suo ministerio, consumpto ex tali negligencia 30 principali thesauro atque dominio, nonne foret proditor domini sui manifestus? Multo evidencius rex terrenus conducens curatum cum patrimonio Cristi, et post conduccionem, alienans ipsum ab animarum regimine,

4. plus AC. 7, 8. vindictam B. 8. levitivam B; lenitivum C.
11. et before vecordia deest AC. 18, 19. mancipatos AB; mancipant C.
21. dominium deest C. 24. medicus A. 27, 28. per necessitatem A.
30. mist'io C. 31. nomine A.

9. In answering the foregoing objections, Wyclif, as is often the case with him, gives us to understand his meaning much better than when he stated his point. He then said nothing explicitly about pardoning the rebels; here he evidently points to that. It is probably an oratorical precaution (in this case at least) rendered necessary by the horror of the crimes committed. The rebels, however, had been most savagely treated.

Matt
VI,
Luc
XV
1—

mancipat eum contrario seculari servicio secundum
mandatum regis superbie, ratione cuius perditur vel in-
vaditur precipuus thesaurus Cristi et regnum; quod est
multitudo animarum fidelium. Talis, inquam, rex foret
5 inexcusabiliter proditor dei sui.

Et multo gravius proditores sunt clerici consencientes
et procurantes hoc facinus; sed maxime fratres, con-
fessores principum, et qui debent esse speculatores
preuncciantes regnis periculum. Ve terre talibus pro-
10 ditoribus occupate! Cum enim ex fide non venit regni
tranquillitas vel alicui prosperitas nisi per dominum
Iesum Christum; ipse autem non dat cuiquam nisi ad
regulam, ut est dignus, quomodo credimus Christum
bona sua talibus proditoribus impertiri? Revera, si habent
15 hoc, est equivoce, ut amplius confundantur. Et in isto
necessitatis articulo potest ecclesiasticus experiri si clerus
plus amat popularem ecclesiam quam suas decimas, si
plus sapit religionem Cristi quam voluntatem domina-
tivam seculi, et breviter, sive sint anticristi discipuli sive
20 Cristi. Nam per suas possessiones temporales potest
quietare comunitates et dominos, ac de remedio per-
petuo talis periculi providere. Si enim omnia temporalia
dominia mortificata ecclesie Anglie essent ad utilitatem
regni et exoneracionem populi limitata, tunc forent
25 posita in pios usus rationabilius et de lege Cristi fun-
dabilius, quam sunt modo; nec sciri potest via facili-
or qua satisfaceret pro crimine perpetrato. Ille itaque clerus
plus amat mammonam quam iusticiam vel salutem po-
puli, qui isti sentencie contradicit.

30 Si autem Cristi religio ponderatur, constat quod ipse
exinanivit se ipsum pro ove centesima perdita requi-
renda, ut patet Lu. 15. 33^{bus} annis vixit in summa
paupertate et egestate pro dicta ove in via penitencie
instruenda, et demum occisus est morte durissima pro
35 *dicta ove ad perpetua pascua reducenda. Et in ista*
scola instructus est Petrus, Act. 5^o dicens: Argentum
et aurum non est mihi; quod autem habeo, hoc tibi do.
In ista scola ludebat Paulus, qui manibus suis quesivit
sibi et sociis vite necessaria, ne gravaret ecclesiam,
40 ut patet act. 20. Ex quibus convincitur, cum Christus in
Petro precipit sacerdotibus suis pascere secundum istam

But the clergy
is yet more to
blame,
especially the
friars,
confessors of
princes, who
advise such
deeds.
Christ will not
bless the land
that is filled
with such
wickedness.

It is easy to see
which side a
priest takes,
whether that of
Christ or the
devil; since by
giving up his
possessions he
can do so much
good; if then he
is against this,
he sides with
Mammon.

As for Christ's
religion, it is
known that He
gave up all for
the one lost
sheep, that He
lived poor and
died a cruel
death.

Peter and Paul
followed His
example,

and we should
follow theirs.

1. econ C. 15. est deest A. 18. voluptatem BC. 23. Anglicane C.
40. cum Christus twice A. 41. istam deest A.

regulam oves suas, Joh. ultimo, quod apostota sentencie Joa□
isti contrarius est profundius discipulus anticristi. Illi XXI
enim horrerent sequi Cristum et suos apostolos, 15, ■
dando animam suam pro summo coniugio, qui genuunt
dare bona minima a quibus, ut imperfectis, sunt 5
per Cristum prohibiti pro hac sponsa.

4. qui *deest* A. 6. per Cristum *deest* B.

CAPITULUM QUARTUMDECIMUM.

Decimus tortor sugens ecclesiam est conventiculum
 pseudofratrum. Contingit enim de illis, ut aliis, esse
 aliquos falsos fratres; quia aliter foret tota eorum
 5 comunitas confirmata, quod Cristus non concessit apo-
 stolis, ut patet Scarioth et multis pseudoapostolis. Sicut
 enim in ordine cristiano salubriori ecclesie pullulat
 maior fructus, sic in illis perversis surrepsit maius
 periculum. Dictum est autem, 2^o cap. De apostasia, quo-
 10 modo aliter fratres contingit esse apostotas: et sic in
 illis, sicut dictum est in tractatu, De symonia, contingit
 de episcopis quod contrahant symoniam in congressu,
 in progressu et egressu. Sic contingit de fratribus, quo
 ad apostasiam et duas alias hereses, quibus sunt ex
 15 cautela diaboli maculati. In ingressu dupliciter, vel
 fratrifactor, vel eciam fratrifactus; fratrifactor autem
 deterius: primo, quia sepe presumptuose consulit et
 agit contra divinum consilium et utilitatem ecclesie, ac
 persone: quod omnino est peccatum, ut patet libro 5^o
 20 ca^o 3^o. Si enim peccatum sit dare occasionem deterio-
 randi proximum, pretendendo opera misericordie cor-
 poralis, multo magis malo consulendo in antecedentibus
 ad salutem perpetuam, et maxime incitamentis necessi-
 tando ad tante dampnificans. Notum quidem est quod
 25 multi viverent sanccius extra religionem privatam vel
 in religione alia, plus eis consona. Ymmo multi propter
 huiusmodi differenciam sunt dampnati. Quomodo igitur |
 68^b non foret magnum peccatum inconsulto domino in-

The tenth
 tormentor is
 the bad friar;
 some such
 there must be,
 unless all friars
 are confirmed
 in grace.

Apostasy is
 committed
 amongst them
 on entering the
 order, whilst
 remaining
 therein, and on
 leaving it.

The friar-
 maker takes a
 most heavy
 responsibility
 upon himself
 in giving advice
 which if
 followed may
 lead to
 damnation.

1. Ca^m XIII A; Cap. deest; 14 in marg. BC. 2. Initial D in red ink;
 ib. suggens A. 3, 4. pseudo fratrum — aliquos deest A. 4. aliis pro
 aliquos C. 8. surrepit magis B. 11. igitur A. 12. symoniam deest A.
 13. igitur A. 16. eciam deest C. 20. sit deest A. 26. religionis A.
 27. Quo C. 28. in deest A.

9. See *De Apostasia*, whole of Ch. II. 11. *De Simonia* Ch. VI.

The best of them say they never made any friar but one, and that they regretted it ever after. A friar maker claims to have entered into God's secret counsels. This advice should be given with the utmost reserve.

Many think that to enter one of these orders savours of sortilege, for it is all a chance whether it will render one good or vicious; and they freely submit their eternal salvation to such a chance, while the true way to be saved is open to them.

Objections.

1. "According to this theory, it is wrong to exhort to a virtuous life, since perseverance is doubtful, and a fall would then be more severely punished." But the case is not the same; virtue, good in itself, causes evil only by accident.

ducere talem statum? Ideo periciores fratrum dicunt quandoque quod nunquam fecerunt aliquem fratrem, nisi unum, se ipsos scilicet, et dolent continue illud opus. Istud autem est possibile esse verum et prudenter dictum; cum enim talis consiliarius pretendit se habere spiritum consilii dei, videtur quod blasfemat tam frontose et nescie procurando. Unde videtur mihi quod nemo consulerit, nisi habuerit ad hoc revelacionem vel agitationem spiritus sancti, quia aliter indubie ageret indiscrete. Unde quidam in talibus consiliis eis ambiguis locuntur condicionaliter; ponunt *custodiam ori suo*.

Unde videtur multis quod opera fraternitatum huiusmodi, que etiam spissim pullulant inter laicos, inter alia mala sapiunt sortilegium, cum nemo ambigit quin, sicut bonum fortuite potest ex illis contingere, sic et malum; nec est fraternitas huiusmodi per se bona, cum sicut casualiter multis proficit ad virtutem, sic et multis officit ad dampnacionem. Hominem igitur ponere se in tali sorte perpetua est maioris stulticie quam mittere sortem, sicut fecerunt apostoli de eleccione, cum videtur tales sortilegi continuo et perpetuo sine fundamento se sorti subiciunt in periculo: quia manifestum videtur quod ingrediens fraternitatem huiusmodi subicit se fortune quo ad beatitudinem vel dampnacionem. Sed quid stulcius aut periculosius, cum via secura sit patula? Detestabilis itaque est argucia anticristi: *Tali sancto convenit talis conversacio*: ergo, *toti secte debet competere*, cum tempore apostolorum statim destrueretur ista blasfemia, eo quod soli Cristo convenit talis primatus, non ita singulariter in specie, sed in genere.

Sed contra predicta instatur primo, ex hoc quod nemo consuleret ad virtutes, cum stat virtuosum occasione virtutis dampnari severius; ut patet de Scarioth, de quo Cristus dicit Matth. 14. *Bonum erat illi, si natus non fuisset homo ille*. Sicut enim homo occasione peccati fit humilior, sic occasione virtutis a qua ingrate cecidit, fit dampnabilior. Sed supposita distincione de occasione data et occasione accepta, patet quod non est color concludere quod nemo debet consulere ad virtutes, cum sint per se bone moraliter, quibus nemo abuti potest.

7. nescit AC. 9. sanctis A. 12. operam B. 12, 13. huius A.
17. causa A. 18. sic pro se B. 23. subiceat B. 28. illa C.
29. itaque BC; ib. singularitatis C. 34. Matth. 14. deest C.

Ideo, quicumque ad illas consulit, ut sic consulit ad bonum, licet occasione male accepta, per se ex malo, et per accidens a bono, malum proveniat.

- 2^o obicitur quod nemo consuleret iuxta istam sententiam ad habitus vel actus qui non sunt per se morales, et per consequens non ad statum, artem, scienciam vel opera ex illis procedencia; quod est inopinabile et derisum ab Augustino et decretō; et consequencia patet ex hoc quod omnia talia contingit esse mala moraliter.
- 10 Hic dicitur quod theologus vere dicit quod nichil est proprie consulibile, nisi in ordine ad beatitudinem; aliud autem quod quiescit in temporalibus, est consilium impiorum. Et sic sunt aliqua per se consilabilia, ut virtutes et opera virtuosa, et alia per accidens consilabilia
- 15 plus vel minus, ad que homo debet consulere conditionaliter cum timore, ut vivere expropriarie, discere legem dei et facere talia bona de genere disponencia ad virtutem. Dissuadere vero debemus illa que sunt propinquiora periculo.
- 20 3^o instatur per hoc quod non solvitur difficultas, cum non docetur si licet consulere homini simpliciter, ut sit frater, et sic de aliis consiliabilibus, quo nec sunt virtutes
- C. nec opera virtuosa. Hic dicitur quod super virtutes vel earum opera simpliciter debet cadere consilium. Ideo
- 25 videtur michi quod nemo, nisi habuerit ad hoc revelacionem, debet consulere homini esse fratrem; non quia ex hoc potest contingere malum, sicut occasione male accepta potest indirecte malum confingere ex virtute; nec solum ex hoc quod de ingressu in religionem privatam tan-
- 30 quam de neutris vel bonis de genere potest malum contingere propter defectum virtutis ex carencia bonificantis circumstantie: sed ex hoc quod introitus in religionem talem videtur esse malum de genere; non enim debet fidelis ad opera neutra consulere, nisi ha-
- 35 buerit ad hoc revelacionem; ut aliter nemo consulit edificari domos, graduari in facultatibus vel prepollere in seculari dominio; ymmo nec aliter consulit ad opera bona de genere; ergo multo magis nemo aliter consuleret ad opera mala de genere, cuiusmodi videtur

"Then", it may be urged, "it is wrong to advise any act indifferent in itself, from which evil may spring."

But no advice should be given, except in so far as it makes for salvation; and according to this rule we should advise or dissuade, as anything is useful or dangerous.

"This answer", it is urged, "does not show whether we may or may not advise any one to become a Friar."

All advice ought to tend towards the practice of virtue; and thus, as to enter into religion is not simply good, nor good rather than evil, but evil rather than good, no one ought to advise such an act, unless by divine revelation.

3. in *pro* a A. 4. secundum *pro* iuxta C. 6. 9ti^a A. 11. 9cili^a C.
12. q^oefci^a A. 13, 14. conciliabilia C. 20. Sed 3^o B. 22. consiliabilibus C.
23. frater *pro* super A; *ib.* virtutis AB. 27. 9ti^a A. 28. de *pro* ex C;
ib. sed nec C. 29. revelacionem C. 32. si *pro* sed omnes MSS.
33. relio³ C. 36. edificare C; *ib.* facultatis C.

A Friar loses
much of a
Christian's
liberty, and is
obliged to do
much that
Christ does not
approve.

None but the
Holy Spirit had
the right to
tell the prophet
to marry a
harlot; we can
only advise to
do what we
are certain to
be good.

2. "Not only
the state of a
Friar is rather
good than
evil, but it is a
state of virtue,
to which all
should be
exhorted".

If so, no Friar
could possibly
be bad, since
no man is bad
in a state of
virtue.

esse intrare religionem privatam; quia hoc repugnat multis libertatibus, in quibus Cristus voluit Cristianos vivere, et necessitat ad multa mala, que Cristus docuit fideles aufugere. Diabolus tamen sub colore boni commixti seducit incautos, ut patet ex fructu consilii ho- 5 dierni. Nam nunc consulitur ad bella, ad lites et ad potencias seculares, nec sapit secularibus consilium domini ad virtutes; ad illas tamen debet tantum sapiens absolute consulere, et relinquere regimini proprii spiritus facere neutra vel bona de genere. Nam habitis virtutibus 10 ut homines sint filii dei, credendum est ex fide apostoli quod communiter ex spiritu dei quo ad talia erunt ducti. Sed hodie blasphematur induendo personam spiritus sancti, qui precepit prophete fornicariam accipere et ex ea | filios procreare, ut patet Osee; cum nemo debet 15 nisi in sibi certis consulere. Et hec ratio quare spiritus consilii deest ecclesie. Nemo debet sine speciali consilio dei in sibi neutris consulere, quia in hoc fatue extolleretur super deum. Deus enim non potest consulere vel mandare, nisi quod scit et ordinat prodesse ecclesie. 20 Blasfemus autem talis frontose consulit quod nescit repugnare voluntati divine, utilitati ecclesie et profectui persone consulte: quod est indiscreta temeritas. Et patet per locum a maiori quod stultum foret, deficiente instinctu divino, per cautelas mendaces inducere hominem 25 ut sit frater.

Secundo obicitur per hoc quod esse fratrem nedum D. est bonum de genere, sed bonum virtutis ad quod movet deus: ergo salubre est ad illud bonum anime excitare. Pia igitur fraus foret proximum ad talem cristianis- 30 mum inducere, ubi in ingressu foret plena peccatorum remissio, in progressu foret meriti maioracio, et in egressu foret, preter spirituale suffragium fraternitatis, plena absolucio. Blasfemum igitur foret in istis spiritui sancto resistere. Hic patet quod falsum assumitur, Nam 35 si esse fratrem esset bonum virtutis, cum nemo potest abuti virtute, vel cum illa dampnari, sequitur quod repugnat legi dei quod aliquis frater peccet mortaliter vel dampnatur; consequens blasfemum. Ad cristianam

1. reputat A. 9. absolut'e A; *ib.* regnum C. 10. fateri AB.

11. *after* apostoli, a blank space AC. 12. fide pro spiritu A; *ib.* gnt' A. 20. igitur C; *ib.* ex'citari = exercitari A. 30. fraus deest B. 30, 31. cristianissimum A. 33. preter deest A; preter spirituale officium vel suffragium C.

itaque religionem debet homo consulere et hortari, cum illa sit infinitum perfectior quam privata religio, ut hic supponitur ex dictis alibi. Cui religioni cristiane repugnat peccare mortaliter vel dampnari; dicente ewangelista

- 5 I. Joh. 3. *Omnis qui in deo manet, non peccat.* Et sequitur:
 oan. *omnis qui natus est ex deo peccatum non facit, quoniam*
 III. *semen ipsius in eo manet, et non potest peccare, quoniam*
 7 *ex deo natus est.* Nam repugnat vere cristianum peccare mortaliter, sicut repugnat predestinatum peccare in
 10 spiritum sanctum. Et sic intelligit beatus Johannes simpliciter in sensu composito. Si autem hoc sit verum de fratribus, hoc est in quantum sunt cristiani de generatione seminis verbi dei, et non in quantum sunt fratres; nec sunt aliter nisi nominatenus et false in
 15 religione vel ordine, sed "frater" est commune ad bonos et ad malos, cum secundum apostolum sit consummatum *periculum in falsis fratribus.* Et sic esse fratrem in sua comunitate, nec est per se bonum virtutis, nec bonum de genere; sed esse fratrem secundum adinventionem
 20 novam videtur esse superflua et periculosa adieccio. Multi tamen possunt ex speciali gracia, parvipendendo tradicionem onerosam retardantem ab ewangelicis consiliis, salvi fieri; sed non in quantum fratres, sed in quantum filii Christi sic faciunt. Et illud periculum
 25 tradicionis adiecte potest prodesse per accidens. Ideo it inspiratus ad hoc debet *temptare spiritus, si ex deo sunt,* et, veritate inventa, facere ipsum fratrem; hoc tamen raro evenit, cum pro toto Christi millenario non evenit; et per consequens per tantum temporis non fuit
 30 bonum de genere, et illa antiqua bona de genere sufficerent pro viacione ecclesie. Non enim isti religiosiarche suscitant novum genus boni, licet fecerint novum bonum individuum. Et istud evidet ex hoc quod a tempore invencionis huius religionis private invaluit
 35 proportionaliter perturbacio in ecclesia militante. Non enim est secta ista per se magis bona de genere quam secta Machometi, vel alia, legem domini introducta.

Nec colorari potest fraus qua fratrifacti seducuntur per mendacia, per munuscula, per applausus sophisticos
 40 cum principium religionis Christi eius doceat strictitatem

This argument applies only to the pure religion of Christ, in which no man can sin; and if a Friar does not sin, it is because he belongs to that religion, and not as a Friar.

To be a friar is therefore a superfluous and dangerous thing; yet through a special grace of God, many of them can be saved.

It therefore the thought of entering religion comes to us, we must become Friars only after mature examination; which happens but very seldom.

There is no excuse for the devices employed to bring new

4, 5. 1 deest AC; 3 deest A. 16. before sit an erasure AC;
 in. consumatum C. 19. secundum deest C. 28, 29. cum — evenit
 deest C. 40. strictitudinem BC.

Friars into the order; Christ spoke with simple and stern truth to those who wished to follow Him: we ought not to beguile any one by flattery or gifts.

That on entering into religion, a Friar is purified from sin may be true, but any one else giving alms with feelings of equal renunciation of the world would be absolved just as well; and it is likely that the general intention on entering is rather quietly to enjoy the good things of life, than to suffer poverty with Christ: which wrong intention is sinful: so instead of sin being remitted, a fresh sin is committed by entering the order.

quo ad mundum. Sicut enim magister optimus docuit E. suos discipulos totum mundum relinquere, et istud frequenter in ewangelio inculcavit, ut patet Matth. 8 Ma et Lu. 14: Sicut enim dixit scribe quod non habet ubi VI caput reclinet; sic dicit discipulis: *Omnis ex vobis qui 2 non renuncciat omnibus que possidet non potest meus esse 3 discipulus.* Sic igitur, iuxta doctrinam ewangelicam veritatis, discipuli debent induci, non per adulaciones neque mendacia, cum spiritus et verbum illud effugiunt, sed per veritatis strictitatem verbi dei. 10

Et quantum ad illud de purgacione fratrifacti a crimine, patet quod rite factus frater vel quicumque religiosus ex contricione culpe qua prius mundo erat deditus, a crimine priori absolvitur, sicut absolveretur, cum paribus, faciendo quamcumque elemosinam, et 15 specialiter detestando quamcumque talem religionem privatam, cum non propter eius eleccionem sed propter piam dileccionem domini sit solutus. Unde probabiliter creditur quod comunius, ingrediendo talem religionem sophisticam, quis novo crimine innodatur, quam a prius 20 comisso absolvitur; cum comunius ex temporalium, quibus inhiat incubacione, ex honoris humani affectione, et ex quieta temporalium fruicione, quam ex paupertate penalis Cristi eleccione in tales ordines est ingressus. Ideo invencio huius sacramenti dileccionis criminis 25 habet effectum suum comunius in fuga religionis huius, quam in eius amplexu, cum eius sophisticacio yppocritica ex introitu | comuniter vigoratur. Et patet quantum ad 60 plenam remissionem criminis in ingressu, cum semper vel ut plurimum contigit oppositum, quod non movet, 30 sed disuadet ut quis ingrediatur talem ordinem. Nam

4. scribe *deest* A; *ib.* nō q h3 A. 6. me9 esse A. 10. virtutis A; *ib.* strictitudinem BC; *ib.* verbum C. 17. elccom AC. 22. mundani B. 24. nota qualiter communiter privata religio ingreditur *in marg.* B. 30. pli^m A; plu^m C.

11. It is evident that Roman Catholics would never admit that *in principle* it is wrong to advise men to enter into religion; but the practical disadvantages of the course blamed by Wyclif became so apparent that not 200 years after, St. Ignatius Loyola gave as one of the first questions to be asked the candidate: *Whether he had acted upon the advice of any member of the Society?* and if so, though the advice was 'good and meritorious', his admission was to be deferred until some future period. I believe that many modern Congregations have adopted this rule.

Cristus et apostoli non cognoverunt istas versucias, sed hoc in secta phariseica reprobavit, et tamen secta illa fuit antiquitate et personarum sanctitate solempnior, cum apostolus fuit, ut dicitur Act. 23, phariseus.

Act.
CXIII,

6

Et eodem modo dicitur de maiori meriti in progressu. Nam quicumque habuerit puriorem caritatem, quod comunius evenit in non illaqueatis ritibus, plus meretur. Nec docet Anzhelmus vel alius quod in quantum quis est de tali privato ordine plus accenditur in caritate; et aliter indubie est fratrificatio impertinens maioritati meriti. Quod si allegatur singularis penitencia, dicitur quod ampliorem habet secta Machometi in pocione aque. Ideo libertas religionis Cristi est quod nec cibis nec potibus nec indumentorum cultibus astringitur. Et quod illi ex maiori caritate dant deo tam fructum quam arborem, sed seculares solum fructum, patet quod est incolorata fallacia. Nam si per *arborem* intelligatur "substantia hominis" vel "essencia voluntatis", et per *fructum*, "opera virtuosa", manifestum est quod quicumque dederit deo fructum talem dat arborem; cum dei sit omnis creata essencia vel natura. Ideo stultus foret qui non ex toto corde obligaret se totum deo. Unde vel Cristus et apostoli eius post missionem spiritus sancti non dederunt deo arborem cum fructu; vel contingit quod seculares dent deo claustralibus perfeccius tam fructum quam arborem. Apostoli enim, qui proficiendo processerunt, noluerunt habere abbatem aliquem preter Cristum, et post illos multi sancti martires obtulerunt se deo perfeccius sine ficcione huius infundabilis sacramenti. Ideo videtur multis infundabile sacramentum quod, ex eo ipso quo quis intrat religionem privatam est peccatorum suorum plena remissio.

Et ad tantum cecantur simplices, quod habent habitus quorundam fratrum, quos prope mortem induunt; quia

The same may be said of life spent in the order; perfection depends on love of God, which is quenched by superfluous observances. As to penance, Mahometans drink only water.

The say that they give to God the tree with the fruit, whilst seculars only give the fruit; which is false, for the will is the tree and good deeds the fruit; both must go together.

Some simple people have by them a Friar's habit, believing

1. vfucaß A. 2. phariseica A; *ib.* cum *pro* tamen *omnes* MSS. 4. 20 AC. 5. miti A. 6. quecunque C. 9. intenditur A. 10. fratrificatio AB. 11. secularis A. 14, 15. aſtn'gnt^a C. 21. creatura A. 23. post *deest* AB. 24. vel fructum C. 25. debet C. 30. Non *pro* ideo C.

34. *Mortem*. This practice is followed by members of the Third-Order, and (at least as *now* existing) seems rather to express a pious hope than the confident belief that Wyclif justly reproves. There are traditions in most Orders (perhaps in all) that any one dying amongst them will be saved; but the fact that the Church has never lent its authority to such traditions, probably tends to counteract feelings of presumption.

that dying
therein, they
cannot be
damned.

This is
blasphemy,
as it implies
that every Friar
is safe.

And as a man
with the Holy
Sacrament in
his mouth
may go to
Hell, we must
conclude that a
Friar's habit
can do more
than Christ's
Body!

Also that this
habit is worth
more than all
the treasures
of the world;
no wonder then
that much
money is paid
for the
privilege of
wearing it.

3. "The Friars
supply the
want of
parish priests;
salvation comes
through them,
and they thus
have a right to
alms."

Quite true; but
their multitude
renders such
alms a very
heavy burden.
They supply
the want of
parish priests;
but if the pure
religion of
Christ has
suffered
diminution
of fervour,

instructi sunt quod impossibile est in habitu tali mortuum
vel superari a diabolo vel dampnari. Per tales autem
blasfemias anticristus extollitur super omne quod dicitur
deus; quia certum est quod talis habitus plus vel tantum
valeret fratri sic habituato, sicut extraneo valeret eius
unica induccio. Et sic omnes illi fratres forent super
apostolos confirmati; quod est nimis blasphemum. Simi-
liter reliquie talis habitus forent perfectiores quam
sacramentum altaris, quod nos credimus corpus Cristi,
quia stat hominem dampnari etsi habuerit in hora
mortis sacramentum illud in faucibus, ut comunicantur
greci. Sed non sic stat cum inducione sui habitus, ut
fingunt; sed quid blasphemius? Similiter, iuxta istam
blasfemiam, habitus talis foret infinitum valencior quam
omnia bona temporalia sphere terre, sicut religio sua
est infinitum melior quam religio secularis. Quid mirum
igitur, si anticristus per talia iocalia accumulet thesauros
absconditos? Sed quid foret detestabilius inter fideles
quam tam blasfema ydolatria? Talis autem fingitur
absolutio cum sacramentali suffragio confratrum in
mortis articulo. Sed cum Cristus, apostoli et martires
caruerunt tali adminiculo, ubi ponemus eos in celo?
Ecclesia igitur debet cavere de talibus cerimoniais ydo-
latris; quia aliter in brevi extingwerent legem Cristi.

3^o principaliter arguitur per hoc quod fratres in
defectu curatorum predicant, ministrant sacramentalia
et absolunt; per ipsos igitur quos oportet sustentari
de bonis ecclesie; necesse est ut veniat eis salus. In
isto videtur multis surripere rapinam fratrum sicut
aliorum tortorum ecclesie cuius radix est eorum mul-
tudo onerosa et ministrorum applicacio sumptuosa.
Conceditur tamen quod, occasione ignorancie prelatorum
et declinacionis sui ad seculum, necesse fuit fratres
subintroduci, ut sint peioribus supplementum. Et
necesse est ut de illis, sicut de prioribus, fiat declinacio
a lege domini. Si enim in pura religione Cristi fiat
seduccio, quanto magis in ritibus adinventis! Confir-
matur ex hoc quod ordinacio tam pia, legi Cristi tam

3. tollitur A.

9. t^e altaris A.15. corporallio B; *ib.* spere AB.

17. sibi B. 26. sacra C. 27. vel C.

30. est *deest* AB.

31. instru-

mentorum AC. 32. igitur AC.

33. sue C.

35. est *deest* AB.38. X^{ta} *pro* tam *before* pia A.

consona, excedit ordinationes alias seculares laudabiles. Nec est color negare ordinationes hominum. Et idem deducitur ex hoc quod deus vult tales religiones esse, sed ex eorum onerosa multitudine sequitur inconveniens
 5 ecclesie: Cristus enim non habuit nisi 12 apostolos ad illuminandum universalem ecclesiam; et unus prior minus sufficiens habet 100! Ideo necesse est ex monstruositate talis multitudinis errorem procedere. Nam constituit sibi legem religionis (tanquam indignans
 10 Cristum quem refugit) alius legislator, et legem quam invenit legi Cristi preponderat. Et ubi Cristus ad regendam totam ecclesiam fuit contentus 12^{cim}, Anticristus undiquaque extollitur.

theirs has also suffered the same and much sooner.

Christ had 12 Apostles, and a single Prior has 100 Friars under his rule

Et certum est quod eius multiplex onerosa multitudo
 15 nocet reipublice atque ecclesie. Sicut enim per cecam dotacionem cleri dominiis extractis a secularibus, qui soli debent sic regere, multa loca prius habitabilia sunt deserta, sic per subtractionem multorum fratrum a parentibus atque republica undique perturbatur
 20 ecclesia. Si igitur in lege veteri furans aut spolians bovem vel hominem, invito | domino, debuit puniri, ut patet Exo. 21 et 22^o capitulis, quare non in lege gracie
 Ex. XXII, sic spolians hominem a republica debet puniri secundum leges seculi? Si dicas quod proselitus convertitur ad
 25 dominum secundum legem evangelii; doce quod fingitur; et quo ad aliud, legem pone. Certum quidem est quod nec docetis istam conversionem ad dominum, nec docetis ex lege ewangelii hoc esse licitum; nisi forte
 Matth. XXIII, ex dicto Cristi Matth. 23; *Ve vobis, qui circuitis mare et aridam, ut faciatis unum proselitum!*

This is hurtful to the commonwealth and the Church; multitudes are taken from their parents and the service of the State; which is as criminal as to steal an ox or a slave.

"They are converts according to the Gospel"; this may be said, but not proved. Neither converts, nor according to the Gospel.

15 Nec est ratio quare validus mendicus constringi et puniri debeat secundum leges hominum, quin a pari frater validus, inordinate mendicans, debeat etiam frenari, cum secundum apostolum Thess. 2^o et Act. 20,
 35 labor corporalis eis conveniat. Confirmatur ex hoc quod nulla obediencia cristiani est valida, nisi de quanto sonat in maioritatem obediencie domino Jesu Cristo; sed nullus fratrifactor scit quod filius extractus a tutela parentis magis cum fratre Cristo obediens, quam cum
 40 patre; igitur videtur illegitima et temptativa presumptio.

Why should not an able-bodied Friar be punished like a sturdy beggar? they should work with their hands. The obedience they pay to their prior is so much taken from

4. ingⁿ A; in'gen^s C.
 29. 21 B. 37. sonuerit C.

16. a. deest B.
 40. allegittia C.

19. undiquaque C.

that which is due to their parents; and only better if Christ is better obeyed in the first case.

The friar-maker often takes an heir from his legal guardians before he is of age, which contradicts the Apostle's teaching, who forbade a converted slave to leave his heathen master; yet this involved much more danger to faith. Some say that all sects but Christ's are thieves and robbers.

If any man has the right to punish him that steals cattle or a slave, how much more him that robs him of a son?

No security is given that the young Friar will be a better man than he would have been as a secular priest or a layman. It is by a mere blasphemous fiction that he is supposed to be better; as a Friar's gown is made more of than the robe of Christ.

A legislator says that for a

Item de lege dei heres sub tutoribus et actoribus H. est usque ad prefinitum tempus a patre, ut patet Gall. 4^o Gal. Sed illud tempus fratrifactor sepe dirumpit. Ideo IV, 2 videtur, quod sic est contrarius legi dei. Nec valet blasphemia quod acquirit, ut sic, novello ordini servum 5 deo, quia eleccio Cristi hoc non sufficit in Scarioth. Item, religio Cristi fuit rationi sic consona ut servum conversum non extraheret a domino infideli, ut patet Thess. 6^o. Igitur multo magis religio Cristi legi consona 1 Tim. non extraheret filium a parente fideli; nam parens IV, 1 habet maius ius ad filium, et ipse minus distraheretur a religione Cristi quam servus fidelis cum domino infideli. Sed hec novella religio extollitur super Cristum. Ipsa enim dedignatur plus quam Beghardi tractari in causa civili coram iudice seculari. Sed Cristus et apostolus hoc tulerunt. 15 Unde quidam dicunt quod omnes secte, quotquot venerunt alie a religione cristiana, sunt fures et latrones, quia non intrant per ostium ut dicitur Jo. 10. Et sic Joa= videtur quod non dicetur ratio quare secundum leges X, humanas a servo, iumento vel quocunque usibili puniri 20 debeat, et ad restitutionem astringi, quin per idem sic debet esse de fratribus, qui pueros sub custodia atque protectione parentum defraudant ab ipsis atque republica; ad satisfaccionem congruam debent cogi. Nam verius, tenerius et naturalius habet quis filium 25 quam temporalia vel iumentum. Nec assecuratur res publica quod talis, ut sic obligatus, melioratur et plus affidatur ad dominum, quam remanens secundum puram religionem Cristi, factus sacerdos vel colens seculum. Ymmo videtur quod talis apostota in hoc quod sic 30 fratrifacit puerum, sit blasphemus; quia spondet quod divino consilio est proprium, et quod est sibi absconditum. Sed sicut blasfeme fingit filium, lanam vel instrumenta, quibus habitus suus contextitur, converti in reliquias preciosiores quam tunica Cristi inconsutibilis, 35 et sic de tanto mundum perfici; sic fingit de filiis hominum quos furatur. Unde quidam legifer dicit quod

4. illa B. 5. sic obligatum C. 7. sic deest A. 9. 1 Tim. 6 C; ib. legi Christi A. 14. begardi BC. 15. sch' A. 16. omnis A. 18. qui B; ib. hostium AC. 19. docetur B; ib. quare deest B. 20. invento pro iumento C. 21. nestringi A. 31. quod pro quia A. 33. filium pro filum omnes MSS. 34. infra A. 35. inconsutibilis BC. 37. quod pro quos AC.

14. Beghardi. See Mosheim, *De Beghardis et Beguinabus* (Leipzig 1790).

iustum est privatum sic filio astringere unum fratrem illius secte suo usui, quousque habeat filium suum restitutum. Secta enim talis non debet bona sua in foro contencioso repetere, sed pati iniurias bonorum suorum cum gaudio
 5 atque penas iniuste illatas; igitur multo magis non debet post fraudem commissam persequentes suos impetere.

son thus taken away, a father has the right to force a Friar into his own service until his son is given back to him.

- I. Et quantum ad temporales elemosinas quilibet de populo a quo tam fraudulenter subtrahunt non solum temporalia, ymmo proles, timeret dare sectis talibus
 10 in quantum huiusmodi elemosinas corporales, cum a sociis furum debet fomentum subtrahi. Et quantum ad excessum consumpcionis sumptuose bonorum pauperum, notandum primo, quod non refert sive persona simplex sive agregata ut secta consumpserit bona ecclesie,
 15 nisi quod persona secte est in furto forcior, in fraude circumvencior, et in pertinacia perseverancior. Si, inquam, attendimus ad quantitatem temporalium, que fratres callide suggunt de populo regni nostri, tunc, ut experti calculant, nec dux nec rex suggit tantum annuatim de
 20 regno, quam suggit illa monstruosa persona sectarum. Et si modum vel causam spoliacionis attendimus, dominis temporalibus ex lege ewangelii didragma et alia onera redditus temporalis sunt debita. Sed ista stipendia seductoria sunt per mendacia et comenta
 25 blasfemie subtiliter introducta. Et dico subtiliter, quia communitas fratrum in Anglia colligit annuatim per minucias multa milia talentorum, cum quibus regnum et eius pauperes plebei potuerunt relevari. Quod ex hoc convincunt experti seculi, quod vix invenies unam
 30 villam in Anglia, quin ex collectis fratrum symoniacis
 70^b post sermonem ex fraternitatis redditibus et ex pri | vatis spoliacionibus communitas fratrum excedit quo ad pecuniam ville dominum vel rectorem. Non enim construunt hec magna edificia, nec preter sumptus publicos

As for alms, none should give any to the abettors of robbers.

The quantity of money they take is excessive, and it matters little whether a single person or a society combine thus to defraud the Church; except that the latter is more powerful. They take more than any lord, more than the king himself. To the former we owe taxes; but to these seducers, nothing. Yet a single community every year collects many thousand talents. It is calculated that no village gives so much to its lord or parish priest as to the Friars' collections and confraternities &c. If they build such edifices

2. suum proprium BC. 4. repolere A. 9. temporali A. 11. subtrahere A. 12. processum B. 18. fingunt A. 22. dedragma C. 26, 27. p pinciaß p minciaß A. 28. plebi A. 33. dominium AC.

27. *Talentorum* is not a very definite expression, but Wyclif defines it in other places. See English Works of W. III, 400. "Friars spenden commonly and needlessly sixty thousand mark by year . . . And now . . . is the people charged by sixty thousand mark by year . . . Friars . . . waste vainly and needless sixty thousand mark by year of the poor commons of the land." See also Buddensieg, Polem. Works. p. 192; Trialogus, p. 359, and Sermones, II, p. 49. 60,000 marks came to £ 40,000.

and give such
splendid
banquets, the
money
drained out of
the nation
is provided by
alchemy or a
miracle.
And so there
must be a
falling off in
paying taxes to
the king; the
more so,
because Friars,
however rich,
have nothing to
pay.

They are
practically
independent of
the king;
which would
be seen, if he
attempted to
evy taxes upon
them.

They exhaust
the resources
of the kingdom,
not by open
robbery but
worse still, by
a continual
though
imperceptible
taking of small
sums; like a
hectic fever
which works
slowly but is
incurable.
Any Friar
whom this
exposure
displeases
confesses his
own
wickedness;
as Iscariot,
conscious of
his crime, was

preparant sumptuosa et privata convivia, cum aliis
expensarum excessibus, vel cum arte alkymica vel cum
peccunia Angelorum manibus ministrata; sed subdefalcant
de regno per cateractas absconditas. Et sic, cum regnum
sit tantum finitum suggibile de thezauro, patet quod
necesse est populum regi suo et dominis suis deficere
in tributis, et eo celerius quo a comunibus suis secu-
laribus eciam egenis presbiteris census exigit, sicut in
casu requiritur: et cum a fratribus, quantumcunque
divitibus, nichil capit; et tamen ubi presbiter secularis
habet unicum annuale stipendium de regno (forsitan
sex marcis), frater habet de eodem regno multa abscon-
dite! Et non dubium quin symoniace, ad destruccionem
toxicam contrate quam palliant.

Et sicut episcopi quidam blasfeme blaterant quod
non debent subdi mundi principibus isti practisant
abscondite in effectum; non enim senciant se subditos
regibus nec ulli conviancium, nisi forsitan anticristo.
Cuius experimentalis probacio foret, si rex de illis, ut
de aliis legiis suis, census pro necessitate regni sui
exigeret. Notaret qua paciencia, quibus capitaneis, et
quo seculari vinculo a fratribus regni subsidium levaretur.
Taliter autem cecantur regna cautela diaboli scopantis
interpolate de regnis minucias insensibiles, per quas subdole
enervantur. Nec differt hoc a spoliacione patula, nisi
quod est magis dampnabilis; quia yppocritica et peccato
diaboli spirituali similior: et sic magis radicitus puni-
tura. Nam febris ethica est periculosior effimera, et
tamen per illam naturale humidum insensibiliter, sed
insanabiliter, est extinctum. Nam pena talis diutina
quodammodo superat repentinam.

Nec alicui bono fratri, sed falso displiceret deteccio
istius sentencie, cum non verius posset reatum suum
vel opere vel consensu detegere, quam contra versucie
huius sanativum scrutinium murmurare. Unde indicium
est profundius inveterate malicie, quod fratres plus aliis
contra rimas sui sceleris recalcitrando remurmurent. Et
hinc Scarioth post reprobacionem pronosticam tradicionis

1. conviva B. 3. subdesulcant A. 5. fiete A; finite C. 7. steri-
lius A; scelerius C. 8. et pro eciam B. 10. cum AB; tum C.
14. palliant *twice* A. 15. quidem B; *ib.* blacte'ant A. 17. censent C.
20. leg^{is} A. 21. Notare B; Notaretur C; *ib.* contra pro qua A; *ib.*
p^{er}ia B. 23. enim B. 24. interpellate A; *ib.* immicicias A. 25. de-
beret A. 28. ethica *deest* A. 33. huius C. 35. strictivum B.
37. ruinas C. 38. pnosticam A; prenosticam C.

Cristi, dicitur primo omnium apostolorum respondisse. *the first to ask Christ if he was guilty.*

Matth. *Numquid ego sum, rabi?* Matth. 26., quia peccatum
 XXVI, in effectu gravissimum facit peccatorem conscius sibi
 25. ipsi. Ideo necesse est ut omnis creatura se ipsam
 5 iudicet; sed et quod peccatum ebulliat et dicat sui
 ipsius gravedinem. Unde in istis non obligo me ad
 monstrandum gravedinem narrati criminis, sed relinquens
 iudicium eius politicis, scio quod est necessarium
 demonstrabile, quod fratres potuerunt sic peccare, et
 10 sententia *de inesse* opinabilis ex effectu. Recolerent
 autem fratres quomodo ex paupertate sua primeva
 placuerunt domino, et quomodo sunt hodie monstruose
 ditati in seculo; non solum unica simplex persona in
 opere, sed persona multiplex in consensu, cum vix
 15 unum ex eis conventualem invenies quin ex monstruo-
 sitate et comuni peccato tocius persone aggregate aliquo
 6 generum consensuum sit fedatus; quia psalm. 14^o
 11, scribitur: *Cum perverso perverteris.* Quid enim refert
 9 personam simplicem vel globatam irreligiose construere
 20 basilicas vel habitacula, nisi quod peccatum persone
 aggregate est gravius et reipublice nocivius? Nam tale
 edificium monstruosum est sumptuosius; sicut enim
 sanctitas comitive edificat, sic comitive perversitas viciat
 et retardat; hoc autem in presenciarum fit crebrius.
 25 Quod videtur sanctos apostolos attendere, qui cognos-
 centes Scarioth sub magistro optimo tam sanctam
 comitivam dispergere, post parvam latenciam conflictus,
 1. tanquam nubes et aquille sunt dispersi. Non refertur
 igitur quod multi fratres construunt unum opus culpabile,
 30 nisi quod ipsum sit ex pluri et maiori et ex plus
 defensato crimine reipublice plus nocivo.

Et sic nedum in temporalibus et per consequens in
 populo per tales pseudo[fratres] latenter regnum destruitur,
 sed in magnatibus eciam usque ad regem surrepit
 35 hec fraus subdola anticristi. Quomodo, queso, posset
 plebs dare censum magnatibus vel prolem producere,
 quando a tot temporalibus per pseudofratres tam
 subdole spoliatur? Aut quomodo multiplicabuntur legii
 regis in temporalibus vel spiritualibus, quando tot
And the results of the wrong done fall not only upon the people but even on the king and the nobles. The people cannot pay the nobles their dues, nor can liegemen be found;

5. et before quod deest B. 7. demonstrandum BC. 10. sua pro
 sententia omnes MSS. 17. consensuum deest A. 21. gufo A. 23. in-
 fidelitas B. 27. parvam in marg. C. 30, 31. ex — publice deest C.
 31. plug A. 32. in after consequens in marg. corr. A. 33. fratres
 deest omnes MSS. 38. spoliatur BC.

The gravity of the crime is here irrelevant; its possibility is certain; its existence is inferred from facts.

At the beginning, the Friars were acceptable to God by their poverty; now their convents are monsters of iniquity, each man by consent being responsible for all. And this solidarity, instead of making the harm done to the commonwealth less, makes it greater. There is danger in living together.

the Friars
neither fight
nor labour, nor
teach; they
only weaken
the State.

Multitudes
could be fed
with what
they devour, and
they would
make in
themselves a
large army of
servants of the
king.

The Friars
cause the
barrenness of
the land, and
all intrigues
and treasons
between one
kingdom, and
another.

If one part of
the nation lives
at ease,
burdening the
rest, the nation
must be weak.

Living in
different
countries and
speaking several
languages, they
have interest to
betray; and
some of them
are said to do
so, traitors
both to their
brethren and
to the great
men whose
confessions
they hear.

Their deeds
show that they
are not perfect
followers of
Christ, but the
contrary.

As for
obedience, they
may

pseudofrateres a populo subtrahuntur? Nam neque pugnant ut milites, neque laborant redendo censum, ut incole, neque instruunt ad regis obedienciam, ut curati; sed in omnibus istis subdole partes istas debilitant politie. Notet itaque prudens politicus, quantum populum 5 sustentaret rapina que ab istis pseudo[fratribus] consumitur; quantum exercitum constitueret comitiva mendicans valida, que in clauastro includitur, et quantam gentem legiam et fidelem regis faceret plebs extraordinaria que illegaliter evagatur.

Ista igitur creditur causa quare sunt | tot loca 10
regnorum sterilia, quare ipsa sunt per populum ita 75^a
paucum legitimum habitata, et quare sunt tot contenciones et machinationes proditorie inter regna; cum, ista causa non posita, contingerent opposita. Nec dubium 15
quin omnino ista evenire poterunt ex pseudofratrium malicia. Si enim minima pars regni fuerit per fraudulentam yppokrisim ad onus reipublice ociata, quomodo non foret legitimus populus rarus, et loca sterilia? Posset etiam esse quod fratrum copia per regna 20
infecta dispersa mendaciter machinetur mendacia ad placendum utrique populo, et sic seminant iurgia atque bella. Sic enim audiui unam partem fratrum offere se ad probandum prodicionem in aliam. Nam libere possunt bilingues intrare regna contraria; et possunt, 25
ob favorem contrate quam incolunt, detegere proditorie sua consilia. Possibile quidem est quod produnt tam corporaliter quam spiritualiter, et fratres proprios et magnates confessione eis iniunctos. Ideo videtur rationaliter tractatus et comunicacio cum hostibus precludendus. Nemo enim foveret familiarem diabolo. 30
M.

Et facta fratrum ostendunt quod non sunt in hoc inpeccabiles cum bonis angelis confirmati, nec 2^m
Cristum, qui est boni consilii angelus, ad pacis consilium et ad paciendum iniurias inclinati; quia Pro- 35
verb. 6^o de apostatis his dicitur: *pravo corde machinatur* Prov
malum et in omni tempore iurgia seminat. Nam nec VI,
12—C

6. fratribus *deest* omnes MSS. 9. regnis BC. 11. inquam BC;
ib. 10 = tota C. 12. per *deest* A. 13. letimū A; letimū C. 14. intra AC.
15. contigerunt B. 16. omnia BC. 23. audiri A. 24. Nec B.
29, 30. rationabiliter C. 30, 31. precludendo B. 37. et in *deest* A.

35. *Boni consilii Angelus.* This name of Christ is taken from an Antiphon of the Nativity; it is also in the Litany of the Holy Name. See Poole's *De Civili Dominio*, I.

confirmacio nec religio ipsos astringit, quin possent, sicut Scarioth, prodere minus bonum. Et quantum ad rationem obediendi dominis secularibus, patet quod subdole subtrahunt ab eis omne civile servicium; quia
 5 quantumcunque creverint in redditibus, eciam ultra seculares dominos, vendicant libertatem a seculari servicio, nec faciunt regi omagium in se vel in suis prelati. Ideo, licet occidant quotquot de fratribus mixtim de aliis, vendicant quod regis non interest eos
 10 punire; dum tamen non reputentur aput ipsos apostate. Nec habet rex, ut inquirunt, legem aliquam secundum quam sic puniret ordines sic mendicantes. Et sic conceditur quod de quanto fratres in regno Cristi proficiunt sunt laudandi, et de quanto sunt profectui ecclesie
 15 contrarii, sunt culpandi; et necesse est ut per fratres mittentes scandala veniat ecclesie Cristi salus. Et cum omnia que evenient de necessitate evenient, patet quod necesse est ipsos exinde puniri.

Et patet ad confirmationem de ordinacione, quod
 20 non sit pia, sed deordinacio impia; pius enim contentaretur de Cristi regula. Et sic mensura virtuosa contempnitur, et per consequens in deum patrem, cui mensura est propria, blasfematur; nec dubium quin blasfemant in filium, cum innuunt regulam Cristi religionis esse nimium defectivam, cum maiorem numerum regularum et ordinum posuisset. Blasfemant eciam in spiritum sanctum, cum prius et diucius ecclesiam, et regimini talium ordinum ponderasset. Quantum ad ordinaciones hominum, patet quod omne opus humanum
 30 laudabile fuit a deo eternaliter ordinatum. Ideo pium foret concedere ordinacionem deo competere, et quod homo sit ordinacionis divine humilis executor. Ampliando autem sic ordinacionem, ut mundus hodie loquitur, probabile videtur quod religiosarcha ex ceca pietate
 35 et temera est seductus, et sic necesse fuit istos errores, in tempore quod deus disposuit, terminasse. Sic enim deus ordinat de omni peccato penam quam approbat, et totum peccatum per accidens proficere mundo et sue ecclesie; et ita, sicut deus vult omne peccatum

become richer than lords, and yet they will never submit to any temporal obligation. If a Friar is not what they call an apostate, they say that the king has no power to punish him.

So far as they follow or do not follow Christ's law they are to be praised or blamed.

Their rule is not pious, but the contrary, blaspheming the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.

Good laws made by men are fore-ordained by God from all eternity; but the first founders of these sects have laid down rules out of mistaken piety; which rules must in their application come to an end. Yet these orders may, like every evil, be profitable to the Church by their punishment.

3. obediendum AB. 5. subtrahunt C. 9. et mixtim C; ib. inde ipsos pro eos B. 12. sic before mendicantes deest B. 15. quod B. 20. sed in marg. C. 21-23. mensura - mensura deest AB. 25. nřm (sic) A. 27. cum deest A; ib. et after ecclesiam deest BC. 33. sic deest B. 34. religiosi archa A.

secundum *esse* suum secundum, prodessens ecclesie,
 ita vult errores istarum religionum puniri, et destruentes
 ipsas propterea premiari. Et licet in humana ordina-
 cione de perpetuitatis heredibus et aliis mundanis
 statuicionibus sit magna temeritas, maior tamen et 5
 attingens blasfemiam est in privatorum ordinum statui-
 cionibus, licet yppocrite videantur pretendere sanctitatem.

It is temerity
 in man to
 make any
 perpetual
 statutes; more
 particularly so
 in these cases.

3. premiare *omnes MSS.* 5—7. sit — statuicionibus *deest C.*

CAPITULUM QUINTUMDECIMUM.

A. Et hic obicitur contra dictas instancias.

Videtur enim quod fratres secuntur Cristum summe,
et per consequens tamquam maxime necessarii ad
5 vivificandum et gignendum plebem in domino, maxime
sicut Cristus et apostoli prosunt ecclesie. Sicut igitur
illi ab exactione seculari fuerunt liberi, sic fratres
successores eorum quo ad sensum et laboricium debent
esse. Sic enim honorati sunt sacerdotes in utraque
10 lege, eciam apud paganos; magis igitur apud eos qui
diligunt dominum Jesum Cristum. Ipsi igitur tanquam
magis obediencie filii plus exaltant romanam curiam.
Expediens igitur foret quod totus mundus viancium
foret similis secte sue.

15 Hic dicitur primo, quod frater est nomen honoris
significans spiritualement gignicionem Cristi atque ecclesie,
et sic innuit maiorem propinquitatem honoris quam
inter fratres carnales; quod effectus debet ostendere,
ut animam suam ponat pro proximis. Unde sicut in
20 tempore apostoli divisi sunt fratres ad sensus equivocos,
7 1^b multiplicatis falsis | fratribus, ut dicit apostolus, sic est
modo. Ad esse igitur veri fratris, quantum ad propo-
situm nostrum, requiritur primo quod vivat expropriarie,
ut vixerunt apostoli. Sic enim verè nominati sunt
25 fratres Jeronimus et alii religiosi, ut patet in scriptis
eorum. Et in hoc mendicantes excedunt religiosos
possessionatos, cum in hoc secuntur Cristum similis;
cum Luce IX dicit ipse: *Omnis ex vobis qui non renunciat
omnibus que possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus;*
30 quem gradum renunciacionis optime docuit Cristus
in facto cum suis apostolis.

The case for
the Friars
stated: they
follow Christ
closely, are
thus most
useful to the
Church, and
therefore
deserve to be
free from
taxes and
honoured by
Christians,
especially as
they exalt the
Roman Curia.

Answer.
'Friar'
signifying
spiritual
brotherhood, is
a name of
honour,
provided it is
true.

The first
requisite of this
true
brotherhood is
to live in
poverty; and
herein Friars
are preferable
to monks.

1. Ca^m 15 in red ink. 2. Et in red ink A; Sed pro et B. 6. S^a A;
ib. enim B. 12. magis deest C. 17. honoris deest B. 24. vixerant A.
28. 14 BC.

But, as robbers may also be poor, this is not enough. They must besides keep themselves unspotted from the world; if not, they are not of the brotherhood of Christ.

As a sign of hatred of worldly things, they will not even touch money.

This is well; but what if they love that money? they are then hypocrites.

According to their institution, they should resemble the Apostles; Christ however intended His Bishops to do this.

But they have fallen away, and prefer their sect (though not their persons) to the general good of the Church.

Hoc autem non sufficit ad *esse* veri fratris, cum brigandi, pirate, et summi discoli vivunt expropriarie cum ipso diabolo. Ideo oportet, iuxta beatum Jacobum, *quod frater religionis munde custodiat se immaculatum ab hoc seculo*. Sic enim exponit beatus Jeronimus illud Matth. 19 *Vos qui reliquistis omnia et secuti estis me* "Primum", inquit, "fecit Socrates philosophus". Ideo perfectum adiungitur quasi forma, *et secuti estis me*. Ista igitur forma requiritur ad *fieri* veri fratres, et per consequens oportet quod non apostotet, *terens pede* (ut expositum est 2^o ca^o De apostasia): cuius enim pes sic oblique inficitur, quantumcunque egenus fuerit, ab ordine Cristi excidit. Unde nos, calcando terram, quantumcunque mundi fuerimus a mortali, egemus locione pedum cottidie, ut dicitur Jo. 13. Et in signum detestacionis temporalium fratres minores nec ferunt pecunias neque tangunt. Scarioth enim in portentum portavit loculos. Quod si ipsi fratres in hoc sentenciant elongacionem affectus a temporalibus, certum est quod illa est observancia laude digna. Sed si signo tali obligatorio assit inordinata affectio circa pecunias per quam paupertas primeva minuitur, quis dubitat quin hoc sit dampnabile, et gravans signum ypocrite? et tunc sunt a Cristi vestigiis maxime elongati. Debent autem fratres ex institucione 2^a tanquam apostoli sequi Cristum propinquius. Sed ex institucione primeva Cristi hoc competere debet episcopis, et pape specialiter. Sed quia illud blasphemie contrariatum est ex humana stulticia, qua diabolice statutum est quod episcopi seculariter sint potentes, suscitavit deus paulative religiones privatas secundum totum in eis laudabile, ut suscitant semen Cristo. Sed diabolus nimirum repente decepit has sectas singulariter et specialiter in hoc quod, *querentes que sua sunt*, postponunt bonum comune prestancius domini Jesu Cristi. Nec refert sive inordinate afficiantur persone simplici sive collecte, nisi quod 2^m est nequius.

1. ad esse *deest* C; *ib.* cum C. 5. beatus *deest* AC; *ib.* Jacobus A.
7. Socrates C. 12. obliget A. 13, 14. quantecunque A. 15. continue C. 18. vere sumant C. 22. hoc *deest* A. 23. anticristi C.
24. elogati A. 29. ff' A. 34. ecclesie B. 35. sive *deest* B. 36. simpliciis A.

5. Jer. Comment in Matth. XIX (edit. Basle, 1537, t. IX, p. 58).
11. De Apostasia, c. III, p. 31.

- Conceditur igitur quod fratres forent ex suppositione plus necessarii, si suppleant defectus in episcopis ordinatis a Cristo. Sed si sunt in eadem dampnatione profundius, quis est in ecclesia magis superfluus a fidelibus destruendus? Sufficit enim ecclesie, ymmo superfluit, partis secte sue primeve insania, licet non nequior, sed ad maius onus ecclesie introducta, ut 1. Reg. 12 dicitur de David, qui Philisteis finxerat se insanum; quanto magis, in facto se iudicans insane membrum diaboli est a cristicolis reprobandum? Unde quidam prenosticant quod sicut in humano corpore membrum ultimo veniens ex peregrino glutino recedit citissime, sic oportet esse de caducis partibus adiectis ecclesie. Primo enim, ut cor, formata sunt membra ecclesie coniuncta Cristo 2^m religionem simplicem cristianam; posterius adiecta sunt membra monstrua paulative, que adherent 2^m traditiones hominum adinventas. Et illas sectas oportet secundum hoc putridum ordinate dissolvi.
- Sed consolacio est fratribus et cunctis fidelibus, quod sicut omne membrum hominis spermaticum resuscitabitur, sic in quacunque secta homo fuerit resurget ad gloriam, si finaliter servaverit religionem simplicem cristianam. Quamvis enim contigit transire de secta in sectam, tamen necesse est omnem predestinatum vivere finaliter secundum religionem simplicem cristianam. Traditiones autem adiectas oportet dimittere, et proportionaliter ut predestinatus maiorem caritatem servaverit, sive fuerit sutor sive episcopus, erit maior in regno celorum. Prescitus autem usurpans perfeccioem statum, ex eius maiori abusu gravius dampnabitur.
- C. Nec dubium quin contigit in quocunque statu maiorem humilitatem servare quam facit ista privata religio; cuius indicium est quod nullus paciendi oprobria more luciferi magis recalcitrat.

Friars are indeed necessary to the Church, if they are what they ought to be; if merely superfluous, and much more it worse than the Bishops, they should be destroyed.

As the member that is last added to the human body is the first to go, so it will be with the Friars.

But as every member that really belongs to that body will rise again, so all good Friars must be comforted by the hope of eternal glory, as they have followed Christ, and set aside vain traditions.

In any state men can be more humble than in theirs; they are excessively averse to humiliation.

5. ecclesie Cristi C. 6. sc sue A; *ib.* primeva A; *ib.* sit BC.
7. ut patet C; *ib.* 21 BC. 10. prenosticat C. 11. ultimum C. 12. glutino C.
16. menstrua B. 26. eciam B. 27. pdestinat9 = per destinatus A. 31. in *deest* C.

10. The umbilical cord, perhaps; or the teeth and hair. In the third part of *Logica*, now publishing, Wyclif shows much knowledge of anatomy and physiology, as taught in his time. His description of the human eye is striking.

Three defects in their order; 1. they live together without reason; 2. their community possesses more property than a secular person. 3. They are overburdened with traditions and observances that accumulate incessantly. It were better if they were dissolved.

Patet ergo quod fratres sophisticando a religione Cristi exorbitant. Primo, in hoc quod persona secte sue est superflue et infundabiliter conglobata; 2^o in hoc quod illa persona vivit seculariter in proprio sceleracius persona simplice; ut patet de edificiis et aliis temporalibus adiacentibus ultra exemplar comune Cristi cum suis apostolis. Et 3^o in isto potissime quod accumulunt continue tradiciones, ut anticristus, per quarum preponderanciam | a lege et operibus Cristi subtrahitur. Ideo indubie melius foret quod omnes iste secte cessarent et viverent generaliter et simpliciter secundum legem quam Cristus instituit; quia per hoc cresceret cristiana religio, tota secta faciente meritorie quod Cristus precipit, ubi iam opponitur, minuitur et laxatur. Nec hoc inconveniens evadi poterit, stantibus istis sectis.

Let them follow Christ, and no longer complain that their freedom is encroached upon. They cannot serve two masters; it is they that have lost their liberty by leaving the service of Christ.

Teneant igitur secte viam Cristi, sicut fecerunt cristiani in primitiva ecclesia, et tunc est illis collor expetere pristinam libertatem. Sed more cati petunt repugnanciam, volentes simul servire deo et seculo, quod est contra diffinicionem Cristi, Matth. 6^o. *Nemo potest duobus dominis servire*. Cum igitur quelibet talis secta deteriorando progreditur, dicatur ei de ablacione libertatis pristine conquerenti, quod ipsamet stulte et infideliter illibertavit se ipsam, ingratis deserendo sectam Cristi et obligando se diabolo atque mundo. Ideo fidelis temporalis dominus conculcaret huiusmodi ingratos filios; et dicere posset ex caritate quod adhuc, si humiliter redire velint ad religionem primevam, communicabit cum illis liberius quam seculares comuni-carunt cum digniori ecclesia primitiva. Sed, ut cati diaboli, exigunt contradictoria, ut vulgariter dicitur:

Catus vult piscem, sed non vult tangere flumen;

But they want two contrary things: freedom and temporal advantages.

sic isti volunt quod dentur eis temporalia ultra patres suos primevos, non obstante quod sunt indigni, et collacio dampnificet ambas partes. Et pro parte sua non allegant vitam Cristi sive consilium, sed insanem stulticiam dotancium dominorum.

They are so changed from what the order

Ad tantum quidem secte predictae sunt ducatu diaboli lapse ad seculum, quod patriarche eorum possent

1, 2. Patet — Primo *deest* A. 8. accumulatur A. 11. viveretur BC.
14. oporietur BC. 23. oblacione C. 26. mundo *deest* A. 29. red-
dire C; *ib.* velit A; volunt C. 31. eccia A. 32. w^t A; wlt C.
38. duorum dominorum B.

- Matth. dicere illud Matth. 25°. *Amen dico vobis, nescio vos.* was at first, that their
 XXV. Sed ad tantum sophisticantur in alienas adulteras, Founders would not know them.
 12 quod patriarche iam superstites possent dicere cum The number of those that keep
 1 Cor. apostolo 1 Corinth. 1°: *Gracias ago deo, quod neminem* to their rule in
 I, 14 *vestrum baptisavi preter Crispum et Gayum.* Pauci enim its first
 (ut Crispus, qui interpretatur *sciens*, et Gayus, qui strictness is
 interpretatur *commotus*), custodiunt legem datam in excessively
 principio sectarum: ita quod Cristus illis potest dicere small.
 D. 5 illud Joh. 7°. *Nonne Cristus dedit vobis legem et nemo* Christ rightly
 Jo. VII. *ex vobis custodit legem?* Ad tantum enim sophisticatur reproaches them
 17 ex secularium fratrum stulticia et propria, quod seculares for not keeping
 Gen. possunt dicere Cristo illud Genes. 37° *Vide si tunica His law.*
 XXXVII. *filii tui sit an non,* cum ad tantum quidem variantur *The coat may*
 32 *habitus interioris hominis et dissimilatur ritus vivendi* be the coat of
 but the interior Christ's son;
 15 a vita Cristi cum suis militibus, quod Cristus vere man is gone;
 cognoscit quod habens nomen filii, relicta figura cor- *an evil beast*
 poralis habitus, sit *a bestia devoratus.* Quid ergo si *hath devoured*
 Cristus veniat in humanitate ad domicilia possessiona- him.
 torum aut fratrum, et inveniat utriusque domus proprias What if Christ
 20 sumptuosas, utensilia secularia et thesaurum? Numquid were to revisit
 credimus quod recognoscet istos eius filius, qui tantum the earth?
 blasphemant in eum, quod vivunt sibi simillime? Illa would he
 autem pars est dampnabilior, que potius procurat vel acknowledge
 consentit in talem blasphemiam. Recoleremus, inquam, their likeness
 25 quod mendaciter scandalizare fratrem nostrum foret to Him?
 peccatum dampnabile; quanto magis blasphemare sophistice What
 in dominum Jesum Christum! In istam igitur blasphemiam blasphemy then
 oportet nos et fratres incidere, quamdiu sumus sic to pretend to
 confederati cum mundo, vel consencientes tali modo such a likeness!
 30 monstruoso.
 Vivamus igitur sive in comuni vel proprie Cristo Let us therefore
 similiter, et tunc vendicemus, vel verius, cum angustia live poorly,
 parce sumamus titulo elemosine huiusmodi subsidium either together
 temporale. Cristus enim et apostoli non fuerunt onerosi or apart, and
 35 contratis vel gentibus, inpetrando propria habitacula then claim to
 ad dampnum reipublice; sed vixerunt ut peregrini in be like Christ
 edibus alienis. Nec dampnificarunt patrias in consum- and His
 matione victualium excessiva; sed contenti de paucis Apostles, who
 did not burden
 the country
 with excessive
 gluttony and
 sumptuous
 houses;

2. secte in C; *ib.* arenas A. 4. 1° A. 6. *sciens deest* B.
 11. quia B. 15. quoddam A. 16. cognoscat BC; *ib.* filia A. 18. et C.
 19. utrimque C. 20. Utensibilia A. 24. Tollimus A. 25. scādali° A.
 32. veditio A. 35. gctis = contractis A. 37. non enim B.
 37, 38. consumpte A; consumptione C.

let us imitate
the Apostle
who worked
with his hands.
If poverty is
abandoned,
all men follow
Antichrist.

et parcis non erant aliquibus onerosi; sed vixerunt,
quando oportuit, de labore proprio. Unde act. 20^{Act.}
dicit apostolus: *Argentum autem et aurum aut vestem* XX,
nullius concupivi, sicut ipsi scitis; quoniam ad ea que 33, 34
mihi opus erant, et his qui mecum sunt, ministraverunt 5
manus iste. Numquid credimus fratres et alios validos
sequi Paulum in istis? Imo, paupertate Cristi proscripta,
omnes secuntur vestigia anticristi.

But whoso
loves Christ
will strive to
destroy
Antichrist
especially in his
heresy
concerning the
Sacrament.
He says it is
an accident:

Quod si cristianus diligit dominum Jesum Cristum,
non solum spernit anticristum et suos complices, sed 10
nititur ewangelice ipsum destruere et suos fautores,
quia aliter est indubie hereticus anticristus; cum Cristus
dicit Luc. 11^o *Qui non est mecum, contra me est.* Ut Luc.
anticristus seminat in signis kalendas sue heresis, XI, 23
dum mandat suis credere quod sacramentum altaris 15
sit accidens | sine subiecto et non de possibili corpus 72^b

Christ's
doctrine is that,
bread by
nature, it is
sacramentally
His Body.
Yet few believe
this, and those
that do are
persecuted.

Cristi. Cristus autem mandat fidelibus suis credere
quod dictum sacramentum consecratum a suo presbitero
sit naturaliter panis, et sacramentaliter corpus Cristi. Et
tamen pauci sunt, nisi layci, quin declinent a sermone 20
Jesum et adhereant infideliter anticristo; in tantum
quod persecuntur vel scandalisant fideles de heresi,
qui in isto credunt verbis Cristi. Et tamen Joh. 14^o E.
dicit Cristus: *Si quis diligit me sermonem meum servabit;* Jo.
qui non diligit me, sermones meos non servat. Cristus XIV,
autem dicit expresse de pane quem sacerdos consecrat: 23, 24

And thus, men
believing the
doctrine of
Antichrist,
Christ is set
down as an
arch-heretic, as
in the days of
Caiphas.

hoc est corpus meum, ut patet *De apostasia* diffuse. Et
tamen pauci, eciam de satrapis, credunt isti auditui,
sed declinant ad scolam contrariam, credentes anticristo,
quod illud sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto, nec 30
potest esse corpus Cristi. Et sic extollendo anticristum
super omne quod dicitur deus, dicunt implicate quod
Cristus cum dictis suis fuit falsissimus et summe here-
ticus; sicut sacerdotes, scindendo vestimenta sua in
signum sanctitatis, inposuerunt Cristo blasphemiam, ut 35
patet Matth. 26, sic indubie faciunt hodie sacerdotes
Baal, qui dicunt se esse sic accidencium sacratores;
persecuntur enim Cristum in suis fidelibus, et partem
anticristi mendaciter magnificant, dicentes quod Cristus

3. aurū et vestem (sic) C. 4. sed pro sicut C; ib. satis B. 7. in
in marg. A. 20. qui A. 25. qui — servat deest A. 26. enim B;
ib. expresse deest C. 31. excellendo A. 37. sic deest C.

non sic intenderat, cum fregit accidens, et non panem. Et sic nituntur hereticare omnes sanctos quos allegavi pro ista sententia; sed non possunt.

They would like to declare the Saints who are of my opinion heretics.

Tres igitur hereses contra trinitatem seminant discipuli anticristi. Dicunt enim primo contra potenciam patris, quod deus non potest facere illum panem, cum non potest esse vel fieri corpus suum. Et sic Berengario sunt in errore profundius, patre suo. Ipse enim, quando fuit in heresi, dixit quod panis post consecra-

There are three heresies in this matter: one denying the omnipotence of the Father, saying that He could not make that bread to be Christ's Body;

tionem est nude sacramentum, et non corpus Cristi. Isti autem dicunt quod non est panis, sicut tamen dicit scriptura concorditer, sed accidens sine subiecto et solum sacramentum, ut patet de consecratione d.

the second against the wisdom of the Word, implying that the bread is destroyed, and a useless accident remains;

11^a. *Ego Berengarius*. 2^o hereticant contra sapienciam verbi et dei, dum dicunt quod deus destruit totum panem, per cuius similitudinem cognoscerent fideles misterium sacramenti; et frustra ac impossibiliter induit accidens sine subiecto, quod non potest 2^m Augustinum esse aliquod sacramentum. Et sic nituntur tollere dei

and the third against the Holy Ghost, saying that the sign, venerable indeed, is not to be adored, but only Christ's Body which is hidden there.

20 sapienciam ac potenciam. Et 3^o blasfemant contra spiritum sanctum, dicentes quod illud sacramentum non est a fidelibus adorandum, cum sit res tam detestabilis; sed corpus Cristi quod est in eo absconditum, licet illud accidens quod sacerdotes Baal consecrant

It is as if they said to the faithful: this Sacrament is not to be adored, not standing for Christ's Body; you must

25 sit propter corporis Cristi assistenciam venerandum; ac si illuderent Cristi fidelibus, dicentes: "non colatis secundum pietatem spiritus hoc sacramentum, cum ex nulla habitudine signat vel sit hoc sacramentaliter

imagine it there with a mode of being such as the Divine Essence has, present in all creatures; and therefore every creature is more worthy of worship than Christ in the Sacrament.

F. corpus Cristi; sed dimissa fide que fit ex auditu 30 verborum Cristi, sompnietis unum alium modum essendi corporis Cristi infundabilem, propter quod debetis tantum honorare, quantum creaturam quam volumus, cum ubique sit tota increata trinitas, que est corpore Cristi infinitum perfeccior, et maiorem habitudinem 35 habet ad quamlibet creaturam quam fictum accidens habet ad corpus Cristi. Nec agregatum ex corpore Cristi et natura divina est melius quam ipsa est eternaliter per se. Ideo remanet in potestate nostra instruere ut, ydolatrando quantum honoratis hoc sacramentum, vener-

4. 3^a A. 7. esse deest A. 7. 8. Berengariani AC. 14^a Berengaris C. 15. verbum AB. 17. mist^mium C. 19. deis A. 20. in pro contra B. 24. sacerdos A; ib. ofect A. 32. que pro quantum in marg. A. 37. sit pro est after ipsa C.

14. Decr. Grat. 3^a Pars., D. II, c. 42.

And it is in
our power to
determine what
honour must be
paid to it.
There are many
other equally
false
conclusions;
Christ's words
are not
believed,

and blasphemy
spreads every-
where. How
can God's grace
assist them in
the consecration
of these
accidents?

Many 'religious'
are thus
heretics; their
use in the
Church is as
accidental as
the forms which
they imagine to
exist in the
Sacrament.
They wax
furious when
their defects
are pointed out,
they call the
faithful heretics
for believing
that the
Eucharist is a
holy bread;
schismatics for
dealing with
the claims of
the Roman
Curia, so
contrary to
Christ; and
blasphemers
for preferring
Christ's order to
those instituted
by men.
But the faithful
man who does
God's work
can bear all
this and more.

mini sine auctoritate Cristi quamlibet creaturam, fingendo
quod virtute divinitatis assistentis cuicumque quod fin-
gitur consecrari, sicut fit sua consecratio accidentis".

Multa, inquam, sunt infundabiliter eque false ficta.
Sic igitur, licet solus Cristus audiendus est (ut dicit 5
Cyprianus 8 dis. ca^o;) et si solus, tamen plus attenditur
ad dicta Innocencii 3ⁱⁱ vel pape alterius, forte heretici,
quam dictis Cristi. Et illud est prenosticium quod nomen
domini late cottidie blasfematur. Cum, inquam, *omne* Jac. I.
donum perfectum desursum descendit a patre luminum, 17
quomodo non deficit dictis hereticis consecrationibus
accidencium gracia a veritate descendens? Ideo deus
permittit yppocritas incidere in tot hereses, cecando
populum et se ipsos; ut fidelis non dubitat quin dictus
error de quiditate sacramenti sit nimis hereticus; quia 15
in sacramento dignissimo falsificat veritatem.

Ideo indubie sunt cuncti heretici, qui hoc pertinaciter
defendunt. Et in isto casu sunt multi religiosi ex per-
sonali affectione, ex antiquo odio, et ex negligencia
scripturarum. Tales, inquam, apostate, ut sunt heretici 20
circa accidens quo induunt corpus Cristi, sic per
accidens prosunt ecclesie. Unde propter taccionem
defectus ordinum apostantes insaniunt, vocantes fideles
hereticos, scismaticos, et blasfemos hereticos, quia dicunt
eukaristiam esse panem sanctificatum, ut dicit scriptura 25
cum sanctis doctoribus: sed non delirant cum istis
apostatis, vocantes ipsum abiectum accidens quod ignorant.
Scismaticos vocant eos propter hoc quod tangunt defectum
romane ecclesie | in qua *multi veniunt in nomine Cristi* 73^a
dicentes, quia ego sum Cristus. Ymmo, viventes Cristo quan-
tumcunque contrarie, se ipsos implicant, ut anticristus, Marth.
quod Cristo domino sunt maiores; et sic multipharie XXIV,
multos seducunt. Blasfemiam autem inponunt fidelibus, 5
qui super suum privatum ordinem extollunt ordinem cristi-
anum. Sed fidelis faciens opus domini patitur hec et plura, 35
cum Cristus passus est a scribis et phariseis obprobria
ampliora. Ipsi enim perversi erant pessimi, cum Cristus,
qui non potuit acceptare personam, ut patet Matth. 23, Marth.
XXIII,
13-39

1. turam in marg. suppl. C; ib. veritatis C. 5. sicut pro sic AB;
si C. 9. quotidie C. 11. consecratoribus C. 16. verissimo C; ib.
dignitatem vel C. 26. sanctis deest C. 29. ecclesie pro curie BC;
ib. quam C. 33. se dicunt C. 37. erant deest A. 38. p̄t pro
potuit; ib. acceptari AB.

6. Decr. Grat. 1^a P., D. XIII, c. 9.

invehit acutissime contra illos. Quare igitur non sic foveret fidelis, exemplo Cristi contra religiosos privatos eorum filios?

Unde istos phariseos vocat Cristus falsos prophetas et ypocritas sismaticos Mt. 7^o; quorum noticiam Jesus omnipotens, omnisciens, et sponsam suam summe diligens, ostendit ex natura triplici propter periculum precavendos: *Attendite*, inquit, *a falsis prophetis*, etc. *Matth. VII.* Ubi notantur primo discipuli patris mendacii in vita et verbis sibi ipsis contrarii, quia falsi prophete. Veniunt autem ad acciones in vestimentis ovium, quia non colunt, cum Baptista, plangendo heremum, sed *penetrant domos* secundum apostolum. Vestimenta autem sua, in quibus possunt phariseice stare religionem suam et preeminenciam sanctitatis, deferunt ut vexillum mendacii ad populum seducendum, ac si essent supereminenter vestimenta fidelium, ut sic decipiant oves Cristi; sed more yppocrite sunt *intrinsicus lupi rapaces: lupi*, quia ululatum incognitum emittunt in celum de abscondita potestate et oves strangulant, sed non pascunt; *rapaces*, quia principaliter intendunt rapere substantiam de personis quas visitant, non ut flores virtutum inferant. Hec autem gerunt in animo. Et 3^o: *a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos*. Est autem triplex fructus hominis secundum triplicem partem ecclesie, ut pars infima vulgi producit terre nascencia; pars media dominorum secularium pacificat potestative populum; et clerus plantat et rigat in ecclesia semina virtutum. Unde licet iste tres partes ecclesie iuvant se mutuo, et omnes debeant fructus meritorios in caritate producere, tamen inordinata eorum comixtio mutuo se confundit.

Notemus quid fructus inferat ecclesie secta fratrum. Nam nec terram incolunt nec plebem potestative defendunt. Ideo potissimus fructus foret quod semen fidei in populo spargerent et partes ecclesie secundum fidem scripture instruerent. Sed acta probant quomodo a tempore quo fratres subintroierunt ecclesiam, isti fructus viancium pulularunt. Exhinc enim secundum prophetiam Cristi crevit fames, quia terre sterilitas bella et commocio, interregna, et, excidente populo ex

They are the sons of those Pharisees whom Christ called false prophets, and gave us a three-fold warning against them.

1. They come, they do not live solitary like Baptist, but penetrate into houses.

2. Clothed as sheep, they are ravening wolves: their habit is a garb of sanctity; but what they want is to devour the substance of the faithful.

3. They are to be known by their fruits. The people produces the fruits of the earth; the nobility, peace by their authority; the clergy, fruits of virtue.

The Sects produce neither of the two first; and ever since they were introduced, their fruits have been fruits of evil.

1. qua A. 2. et eorum A. 4. et — Mt. 7^o deest A; ib. habet A.
6. nota C. 7. precavendis B. 10. activos A. 15. mendaci omnes MSS.
19. aves A; ib. strangula'nt A. 26. p̄tatie A; p̄tātē C; ib. populi C.
32. peccantem C. 39. a pro ex B.

cristianismo, *refrigescet caritas multorum* Nec dubium Matth. XXIV 12
 quin clerus sit causa huius facinoris. Et supposita prophetia Cristi et apostoli cum experta fratrum malicia, videtur quod ipsi sunt huius fructus mali causa precipua.

All their care is to increase their sect, and take away the goods of the poor: how can they give heed to the work of conversion?

Ideo *a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos*. Si enim fructus sensibilis perpendatur, maior sollicitudo eorum est ad augendum sectam suam, ad rapiendum bona pauperum pro suis edificiis et vescibilibus preparandis. Quomodo H. igitur foret mens sic distracta disposita ad convertendum populum, vel conversum apostolice confirmandum? 10 Apostoli enim, quibus interdicte sunt iste sollicitudines, ex magnitudine gracie vix in hoc ministerium suffecerunt.

The landed monks have not so much splendour as they; so they must get their wealth by miracle, by just alms, or by fraud.

Ideo possessionati cum tota diligentia sua et prediis amplis datis eis primitus non sufficiunt attingere ad alimenta et tegumenta totidem tam sumptuosa in vestimentis et domibus, cum aliis expensis superfluis. 15 Ideo non superest, nisi ut vel miraculose vel munda elemosina vel rapina yppocritica sint quesita. Miraculum autem circa questum peccunie non legimus Cristum in se vel suis apostolis exemplasse. Et quoad 2^m, patet quod 20 elemosina ex comitiva excessiva, ex superfluis expensis et ex vicioso ocio elemosinatorum inficitur. Nec dubium quin elemosinantes nunquam vere pauperes egenos dimitterent, et debita proximo suo et matri ecclesie subtraherent, nisi per yppocrisim horum validorum 25 mendicantium seducti fuerint, cum omnino elemosina talis inficitur ex parte fratrum, qui nec sic, nec tante raperent; et tunc ex grossa ignorancia elemosinancium. Et sic superest 3^m membrum, quod rapina dupliciter perversa perquirunt hec temporalia, tanquam wulpes. 30

All their fruits are those of the Pharisees — mere externals, and they all tend to ruin the Church and seduce the people.

Fructus igitur phariseorum istorum foris ostenditur in apparencia signorum que foris sunt. Ideo dico cum Cristo Matth. 5. *Nisi habundaverit iusticia vestra plus quam scribarum et phariseorum, non intrabitis in regnum celorum*. Fructus itaque istorum, tam ad intra quam 35 ad extra, est circa maioritatem dissensio, scole Cristi dissipacio, simplicis populi wulpina seduccio. Ululant enim confuse et idiotice | infundabiliter quod habent 73^b

3. cum peracta A; cum ex parte B; cum ex pta C. 8. preparandis *deest* A. 10. onerosum B. 11. introducte A. 12. sufficerunt A. 13. Ymmo B. 15. sumptuosam A. 17. miraculosa B; *ib.* nuda B; mda C. 18. fuit A. 19. non legimus *deest* A. 21. excommunicativa A. 24. mat'ci eccie = matri ecclesie C. 26, 27. elemosinatis A. 27. se pro sic A. 28. et communiter B. 34. et phariseorum *deest* A.

potestatem in celo dandi inauditum spirituale suffragium. Attendite igitur ab istis wulpibus. Et quantum ad 3^m patet, secundum prophetiam apostoli, quod incidunt phariseice in blasphemiam quam imponunt, utputa, 5 quod sua privata religio sit perfectior quam communis religio cristiana; et sic patronus eorum superat dominum Jesum Christum, sicut vestimenta sua phariseica, in quibus consistit sua religio, magnificant ultra tunicam Christi, ymmo ultra hostiam consecratam; et sic de mille blasfemiis 10 quas inculcant. Si autem introducti sunt ad corrigendum errores ecclesie, faciant hunc finem, quod fecerunt sue primicie, et dimittant hoc tardatum post emendacionem ecclesie. Sic enim nauta post navigationem dimittit navem, et homo generaliter deponit instrumenta artificia 15 cialia contentus naturalibus, cum venerit ad quietem. Si igitur fratres volunt non quod ordo suus destruat, sed quod stante ordine latens enormitas corrigatur, quanto magis sic debet esse de ordine cristiano.

Fundatores igitur ordinum vel peccarunt graviter 20 instituendo stulte novos ordines, vel intendebant ritus adinventos ad tempus solum prodesse per accidens, et servato Christi ordine illeso ut basi, ritus adiectos esse 1. parvipensos, ut exigit ratio. Et sic, dimittendo omnes istos privatos ordines, servatis conversis in purum Christi 25 ordinem, totum quod est perfectionis in ordine servaretur. Nam consonantius esset quod ordo privatus cedat Christi ordini conversus in ipsum tanquam perfectius, quam e contra. Nec est blasphemum asserere patronos sepe in edificacione sui [ordinis] erravisse vel fuisse dampnatos, 30 cum non crescit numerus articulorum cristiane fidei, ut canonisaciones hominum adquiruntur. Verumtamen, ut sepe dictum est, pars ecclesie debet reputari salva semper preeminencia legis Christi, nisi quis habuerit ad contrarium revelacionem vel racionem. Qua quia careo, quiesco in 35 reputacione probabili talium citra fidem.

Sed dubitatur quomodo contingit iudicare opera que sunt fructus moraliter bona esse, cum contingit yppocritas facere bona de genere, intencionem rectissimam et sanctissimam pretendendo. Et pari evidencia qua ali- 40 quantulum vel aliquociens, contingit et semper prescitur

They believe their own blasphemies, and put their founders above Christ our Lord, and their habit above Christ's Body.

If, introduced to amend the Church, they have amended it, they do not need these means any longer; let them throw them aside.

Either the Founders of orders sinned grievously in adding these observances to Christ's law, or meant them to endure only for a time.

It is possible that they may be damned; every canonization is not a new article of faith. On the other hand, having no revelation to the contrary, I believe that a part of the Church is always saved.

How are we to judge that an action is morally good, since it can be hypocritically imitated? and if so, what

2. wulpibus C; ib. Et patet A. 6. dominum *deest* B. 6, 7. superat Jesum Christum, dominum nostrum C. 12. primitive A. 15. veniret A. 16. nolunt B. 20. in faciendo A. 28. e *deest* B. 29. ordinis *deest omnes MSS.* 33. penitencia A. 34. q esto A. 39. quam B. 40. prestitum C.

becomes of
Christ's rule?
Note 1. that
there are two
sorts of
judgments:
probable and
certain.
2. that a good
deed is not
necessarily a
deed morally
good.
3. that every
good deed can
be judged to
proceed
certainly from
a good natural
cause, and
probably from
a cause
morally good, if
no sign of evil
is connected
with it.
One act is
insufficient to
found a
judgment.
We must note
the frequency
and importance
of each act.

We must not
judge of one
person as of
the whole Sect.
nor put consent
and deed on an
equal footing.
But on these
principles we
see how
corrupt the
whole clergy
has become;
especially the
Friars who
simulate
holiness.
They are mere
images,
whitened
sepulchres; the
first Christians
converted the
heathen, but
these would be
abhorred by
them: to

usque ad finem sic facere. Cassa igitur foret similitudo
Cristi, Matth. 7^o de fructu arboris. Hic dicitur quod
similitudo est consona, tollens fucum phariseicum, quo
ex signis inpertinentibus iudicatur bonitas pharisei. Pro
quo notandum primo, quod aliquod est iudicium topicum ⁵
sive probabile, et in illo sunt gradus. Aliud autem iudicium
est infallibile, sive sensibile sive insensibile. Secundo no-
tandum quod alia est ratio operis boni de genere, et
alia ratio operis boni moraliter. Et 3^o dicitur quod
infallibiliter iudicatur omne opus bonum de genere pro- ¹⁰
cedere a bono nature; nec procedit a malo culpe, licet
deus necessitat personam maxime ad illud bonum de
genere suo. Sed iudicium est topicum quod opus est
bonum virtutis, si nec ante nec post ebullit signum malum
de genere. Ideo, sicut una irundo non facit ver, sic nec ¹⁵
quodlibet opus unum de genere indicat virtutem. Sed
expecta finem; nota frequentiam, et preponderanciam
attende (ut quod fratres crebro colligunt pecuniam de
auditorio, est signum dampnabile symonie); nec video
quin malus habitus prorumpit quandoque in maculam ²⁰
operationis sensibilem secundum legem veneni, et non
apparente macula non dampnemus.

Sed de notoria macula fratrum multiplici clamat
mundus. Aliud autem est iudicare de tota secta, et aliud
de ista simplici persona, et aliud de opere vel consensu. ²⁵
Unde indubie cognoscitur quod ad totam sectam cleri
ex sua conversacione varie fructificante a plantacione
primeva, ex cristianismi diminucione et ex paganismi
augumentacione, quod clerus claudicat, et specialiter
fratres yppocrite, qui tante desides simulant superemi- ³⁰
nenciam sanctitatis. Nam cuius spiritus vivificacio causaret
prosperitatem ecclesie, illius spiritus mortificacio inducit
deterioracionem ecclesie. Sed pharisei sunt hodie nude
ymagines polite, mortuorum sepulcra, solum respicientes
mundiciam que foris est, ut dominus prophetavit. Quo- ³⁵
modo, queso, una secta cristianismi stante in suo robore,
ut steterunt apostoli, non delectarentur pagani, ut
tunc, suscipere legem Cristi? Sed videntes maiorem
paganismum esse inter nominetenus catholicos horrent

6. et — gradus *deest* A. 8. de *deest* A. 8—10. genere — genere
deest C. 10. omne *deest* A. 12. nunciet C; *ib.* maximam *omnes* MSS.
13. fuci C. 14. si C. 18. vel *equivalens after* pecuniam C. 37. fe-
cerunt B; *ib.* delectarent A. 38. suscitare A. 39. qui est A.

nimirum nostros, et specialiter clericos, quam suos. |
 74^a Oportet enim, quod trahens sit virtuosius quam attractum.
 Luc. Villicus igitur, de quo Luce 16., exoneraret tam secu-
 XVI. lares oneratos tam fructu frumenti et vini, quam etiam
 1—9 clerum oleo devocionis propter clericatum et temporalia
 oneratum; tunc enim, quando post mortem deficit tempus
 congregandi meritorum fructus in horrea, dicet villicus
fodere pro nunc non valeo, et deficiente ratione dignitatis
 meriti *mendicare* suffragium a viventibus *erubesco*. Et sic
 10 de equa distribucione, et specialiter de prudenti subtrac-
 tione mamone iniquitatis, prudenciores seculares domini
 in eterna thabernacula sunt recepti.

Uterius, quantum ad exaltacionem romane curie,
 patet quod subdole substernitur per tales apostotas. Sub-
 15 sternitur, inquam, per adinvenciones hereticas legi Cristi
 contrarias, ad quas sive fratres consulunt, sive fabricant
 vél defendunt, agunt destruccionem illius ecclesie, cum
 in puritate legis Cristi oportet ecclesiam quamcunque
 stare. Ideo nulli magis iniuriuntur illi ecclesie quam
 20 adulantes ypocritice, qui abscondunt ab ea errores in
 lege domini et tradiciones anticristi foveant sibi et paliant.
 Illi, inquam, sunt inimici domestici, medici fraudulentii,
 et suffocantes proditorii, quod per vocem et aerem que
 debent esse instrumenta comunicacionis caritative ho-
 25 minum, strangulant superiores, non tactu manus, sed oleo
 adulacionis. Et ideo Cristus, cum illos *quos amat arguit*
 19 *et castigat*, destinavit sibi prophetas in lege veteri et
 ewangelistas in nova, qui duplicitate subducta nuncient
 populo suo scelera eorum. In istam igitur apostasiam
 30 possibile est fratres incidere qui sint proditores adula-
 1. torii curie Romane. 2^o contingit ipsos promovere ad
 practicam legis inique, utputa impetrando indulgencias,
 dispensaciones et alia privilegia blasphemiam sapientia et
avariciam, que est servitus ydolorum. Practicam autem
 35 istam lucrativam novit mundus fratres ex suggestionibus
 mendacibus exercere; nec dubium quin illo supposito
 fratres illi forent plus capitibus increpandi; quia pro-
 ditorie excitantes, mendaciter procurantes et fallaciter
 practisantes sunt plus culpandi eis quibus desunt iste
 40 condiciones; sicut cinifes nocuerunt egipciis plus quam
 rane. 3^o vero contingit fratres post professionem fieri papas,

attract, there
 must be an
 excess of power
 in that which
 attracts.

Comparison of
 the temporal
 lord with the
 steward of the
 Gospel: both
 the laity
 burdened with
 wheat and
 wine, and the
 clergy, laden
 with the oil
 of devotion,
 ought to be
 disburdened by
 him.

The Friars
 exalt the
 Roman Curia
 with craft and
 by flattery.
 They are all the
 more to blame,
 since they are
 thereby the ruin
 of that Church.

They should
 correct its
 defects instead
 of flattering it.

They urge upon
 it the
 promulgation of
 unjust laws,
 indulgences,
 dispensations,
 &c., as is well
 known.

Many of them
 become Popes
 or Cardinals
 themselves,

6. deficient BC. 7. horea A. 8. fodere A. 9. mendi C.
 18. quantumcunque omnes MSS. 23. quia A. 32. leges AB. 38. etiam
 pro et B.

sharers in the worldly glory that surrounds it, and ready to excuse it in all things.

But they can only exalt the Roman See by obeying its laws.

Some of these deal with the behaviour of the regular clergy, some with ways of getting money, and some with the duties of a virtuous life.

They are certainly opposed to the first; as to the second, they are divided; and they keep silence as regards the third class.

Richard Fitz-Ralph points this out. He says:
1. The rule of St. Francis orders his

cardinales et avaricia turpissima illius curie irretitos, ex quorum exemplo cum suis complicitibus capitur audacia et excusacio in peccatis. Cum talibus itaque insigniis exaltant curiam, sicut diabolus, excitando ad mundi prospera, procurat eis mundi gloriam; non sic Cristus vel sui apostoli cum matri filiorum Zebedei promisit in filiis passionis calicem.

Ulterius, cum idem sit exaltare dictam curiam et eius leges proprias servare, videndum est quomodo fratres se habent ad observanciam harum legum. Pro quo notandum quod earum diversitas est trimembris: ut aliquae tangunt conversacionem fratrum et possessionatorum, aliquae autem tangunt cleri questum; sed aliquae religiose tangunt ritum honestum. Exemplum prime est illud 6^{ti} decretalis. "Exiit qui seminat" et illud in clementinis. "Exivi de paradiso." Exemplum 2ⁱ est illud 5^{ti} decretal. "Omnis utriusque sexus." Et illud 6^o de rescriptis, "Si duobus." Exemplum 3ⁱⁱ est illud de immunitate ecclesie, ca^o "Decet" in 6^o. Quantum ad primam maneriem, fratres manifeste repugnant; quantum ad 2^{am} differenter audiunt; et quantum ad 3^{am} neutraliter obmutescunt. Quo ad primum scribitur 6^o decretalium "Exiit, qui seminat", quomodo religio fratrum et specialiter minorum consistit in observancia altissime paupertatis, et ab illa non licet cadere, sicut nulli licet a perfeccione incepta diminuendo recedere. Et istud intelligo de cunctis ordinibus. Omnes enim debent ad perfeccionem fratrum minorum secundum suam possibilitatem aspirare, licet in ritibus varietur; oppositum tamen docet ocularis experientia.

Et declarat sanctus Ricardus episcopus Ardmacanus, in quodam sermone qui sic incipit: "Nemo vos seducat inanibus verbis". Francisci inquit: "regula precipit fratribus ad hoc ydoneis laborare, et ipsos, vacante laboricio, statuit mendicare. Ex quo videtur quod mendicacio nulli

1. cinere A. 5. mundi gloriam deest A. 13. est deest A.
14. clementis A; ib. exiit omnes MSS. 15. 5th illud deest B; ib. decreta^m A.
25. intelligendo A. 31. ardinocag A. 32. vocacio A.

13. Sexti Decr., l. V, tit. 12, c. 3. 14. Decr. Clem., l. V, tit. 11, c. 1. 16. Decr. Greg., l. II, tit. 28, c. 7. 18. Sexti Decr., l. III, tit. 23, c. 2. 31. Francisci. Eight points are given here in which the Franciscans are said to depart from the rule of their Founder, according to Fitz-Ralph (See *De Apostasia*, p. 36, note) but I am not quite sure where the quotation ends. It may extend to the end of the chapter, with remarks from Wyclif interpolated here and there; we need not even suppose any such remarks to exist. Fitz-Ralph was a very determined opponent of the Mendicant Friars.

pertinet, nisi quando inculpabilis necessitas ad hoc cogit. Quomodo igitur excusantur mendicantes et ociantes validi, qui ultra necessitatem importune se ingerunt ad magis egenos sophisticè spoliandum?"

5 2^o regula | Francisci precipit quod verba regule non glosentur; et cum fratres laborant ut verborum sensus omnino tollantur, specialiter de litteris a sede apostolica non petendis: non dubium quin ista regula vel sit irrationabilis quoad hunc ordinem, vel eque alios ordines
10 racionabiliter obligaret. Et tamen falsarii scripture sacre cum fratribus dampnant ut hereticam deteccionem sensus doctorum qui videntur contradicere. Ut Jeronimus vere dicit quod fidelis non manducat secundum se vere corpus Christi in sacramento altaris. Et Hylarius cum Hugone
15 dicit quod corpus Christi est substancialiter, corporaliter et carnaliter ibidem, et per consequens taliter manducatur. Glossa concordans doctores stat in isto quod corpus Christi potest 2^r intelligi corporaliter esse alicubi: vel modo corporis, vel in quantum corpus. Et isto 2^o modo
20 proprie loquitur Jeronimus. Unde argumentum topicum est quod si quicquam damnatum sit ab istis maniacis sibi ipsis contrariis, tunc a *probabili* est evidencius catholicum.

3^o, regula Francisci precipit quod fratres non predicent in episcopatu alicuius episcopi, cum ab eo illis fuerit
25 contradictum. Et indubie eadem est ratio regule, supposita eius racionabilitate, de quolibet alio fratre. Et tamen e contra dicitur quod tam ipsi quam alii per falsas machinationes nituntur ut predicent invitis episcopis et curatis. Et tamen Franciscus dicit in suo testamento: "Dominus dat michi tantam fidem, ut sacerdotibus
30 qui vivunt secundum formam romane ecclesie, propter eorum ordinem, si faciunt michi persecucionem, volo recurrere ad eos. Et si haberem tantam sapienciam, quantam Salomon habuit, et invenirem pauperculos sacerdotes huius seculi qui in parochiis morantur, nolo
35 predicare contra voluntatem eorum, sed ipsos omnes volo honorare ut dominos meos; et nolo in ipsis considerare

followers to beg only when they have no work to do, or can do none: there is no excuse for such begging as theirs.

2. St. Francis forbids that his rule should be glossed; which is either unreasonable, or should be observed in every order. Yet they do everything to elude a literal interpretation of the rule; while they condemn as heretical every explanation brought forward to reconcile the Fathers.

For instance when Jerome, Hilarius and Hugo seem to disagree as to the Sacrament. Whatever they condemn is likely to be the truth.

3. St. Francis forbids them to preach in any diocese without the Bishop's permission. Yet they are said to intrigue in order to preach against the Bishop's or the curate's will.

This is the very reverse of humble St. Francis' spirit, as shown in his testament.

2. excusatur mendicitas A; excusantur mendicitates C. 6. glosent^r A.

7. libris A; lris C. 8. nec dubium AC. 12. contradictorie contradicere A. 13. dicit^r deest A; ib. se in marg. C; ib. vere deest BC.

14. Hugonis A. 16. totaliter A. 17. glo A; ib. hoc C. 18, 19. vel modo corporis vel modo corporis in quantum corpus BC. 19. vel deest A; ib. inquam A. 21. damnatum deest A; dampnatum C; ib. inanimatis B; maiciu C.

25. eadem deest A. 30. det A. 32. ullo A. 34. pauperculos deest C.

According to the canons, the order of ecclesiastical dignity stands thus: Bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, door-keepers, abbots and monks. The regular clergy are below the secular in honour; they have no power in the Church; they may not sit down in the presence of a Priest, who has the right to deliver them to Satan. That the same person should be a monk and a priest is often to the detriment of the priesthood; yet many, setting aside the duties of monastic life, have done good duty as priests.

peccatum, quia in ipsis filium dei discerno, et domini mei sunt". Idem autem iudicium est de fratribus quibuscunque. Et patet quod ordo cuiuscunque presbiteri est ordine monachi vel fratris superior. De ordine vero monastico patet (q. 3 dist. 'A subdiacono'); 'pontifici presbiter, presbitero diaconus, diacono subdiaconus, subdiacono acolitus, acolito exorcista, exorciste lector, lectori hostiarius, hostiario abbas, abbati monachus in omni loco representat obsequium, sive in publico sive in gremio ecclesie'. Et patet ex hoc, quod (16 q. 1^a ca^o 'Generaliter') monachi sunt laici. Et idem patet 16 q. 1^a ca^o. 'Alia causa' ubi sic dicitur: Alia causa monachi, alia clerici. Clerici oves pascunt, ego pascor; illi de altari vivunt; michi securis quasi ad radicem arboris infructuose ponitur, si munus ad altare non defero. Michi ante presbiterum sedere non licet. Illi, si peccavero, licet me tradere sathane in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus sit in die domini. Et idem patet de inferioritate monachorum ad clericos in capitulo 'Legi' ex dictis Augustini et capitulo 'Ecclesiam habet'. Quod si contingit eandem personam esse monachum atque presbiterum, sepe monstrosa res est et statum presbiteratus inficiens. Unde eadem q. ca^o. 'Nemo potest ecclesiasticis obsequiis deservire, et in monastica regula ordinate persistere; ut in ipso destructio monasterii teneat qui cottidie in ecclesiastico ministerio cogitur permanere'. Verumtamen infra, eadem q. 5^a ubi supra, patet quod tam monachus quam clericus potest ut sic habere diversa officia. Ideo multi sunt monachi qui laxaverunt officium monachale et multum profecerunt in sacerdotali officio.

30

5. 93 B. 6. decanus decano A. 6, 7. "decanus" p^ribit^o diacono sub diacono, subdiacono acolitus C; *ib.* subdiacono deest A. 7. acolitus deest B. 9. ut obsequium A. 12. dicitur deest AB. 13. alterum clericus deest C. 14. arboris posita est, infructuose arboris ponitur A. 15. aut pro ante A; at = aut C. 16. cedere AC. 24. Destructio deest A; Destructior BC. 26. 5^a deest B; *ib.* ubi deest AB. 27. superiori omnes MSS. 27. sancti BC. 28. qui deest BC.

5. Decr. Grat. 1^a P., D. XCIII, c. 5. 10. Decr. Grat. 2^a P., C^a XVI, qu. 1, c. 40. 11. Decr. Grat. 2^a P., C^a XVI, qu. 1, c. 6. 19. Decr. Grat. 2^a P., C^a XVI, qu. 1, c. 6. 25. Decr. Grat. 2^a P., C^a XVI, qu. 1, c. 2. The Canon runs thus: *Nemo potest ecclesiasticis obsequiis deservire, et in monachica regula ordinate persistere, ut ipse monasterii distractionem teneat, qui cottidie in ministerio ecclesiastico cogitur permanere.*

- 4^o regula beati Francisci precipit ne fratres recipiant per se vel per alios denarios vel pecuniam ullo modo: et vix transit frater, ut dicitur, per villam aut patriam, quin ducat secum unum *Scarioth* pro denariis colligendis.
- 5 Idem autem morale in isto ritu debet a cunctis fratribus observari, cum sit manifesta symonia repugnans ewangelio Matth. X, quod propter predicationem colligant pecuniam vel aliud temporale. Licet autem occasione predicationis vite necessaria possent ipsis adici; tamen
- 10 quod principaliter aut preponderanter predicent ewangelium propter ista, manifeste obviat legi Cristi.
- 5^o regula Francisci precipit quod nullus fratrum audeat populo predicare, nisi a ministro generali fuerit examinatus et eciam approbatus, et ab eo predicationis
- 15 officium sibi concessum. Et fratres, ut non examinentur a ministro, privilegium, ut dicitur, procurarunt. Et, quod peius est, non qui ad edificationem ecclesie utilior, sed
- 75^a qui ad colligendum terrena calidior, aptabitur isti officio; in tantum quod dicitur quemcunque fratrem, non qui
- 20 plus edificaverit, sed qui pro contratis plus offere voluerit de pecunia secte sue, quantumcunque | bono et sciollo prefertur. In tantum quod emunt et vendunt diabolo vitas simplicium, ac si ovem vel bovem pro pecunia mercarentur. Sic quod de illis verificatur prophetia
- 2 Pet. apostoli Pe. 2^o *In avaricia fictis verbis de vobis negociabuntur*. Unde quidam vocant tales sophistas et mercatores
- O. diaboli. Scola quidem sua graduat inferiores yppocritas, ut sophistas, callidiores prelatos, ut baccalaureos et doctores in sua heresi; ut magistros suorum omnium ma-
- 30 gisterium architectonicum vendicet anticristus.
- 6^o regula sancti Francisci precipit quod fratres non ingrediantur monasteria monacharum, non claustra, non domos, nec officinas interiores; cum maior sit ratio ut talis non maneat solus cum sola, eciam gracia confitendi,
- 35 quam est generalis ratio prohibitionis de cohabitatione clericici et mulieris; que licet prohibetur in lege papali, tamen fratres multipliciter practisant oppositum, cum ex privilegiis inpetratis multis dolosis comitivis comunicant.
- 2 Tim. Sic quod de illis verificatur propheciam apostoli 2^a Thymo., III, 6 3^o quod *penetrant domos et captivas ducunt mulierculas; cum non solum tractant cum mulieribus in conclavi, quia*

4. St. Francis forbids them to receive money: yet his followers have a man with them to collect money wherever they go! This is evidently an abuse.

5. According to the rule, they cannot preach without first being examined by the Minister general and duly appointed: now, it seems, they have obtained a dispensation from the Minister. Nay, worse, they send out to preach, not the best Friar, but him that offers to bring back the most money. They form a school of heresy of which Antichrist is the head.

6. St. Francis forbids them to enter convents, cloisters or houses; it being more improper for a Friar than for a secular priest to be alone with a woman; which is not allowed, even for the purpose of confession. Yet the Friars do not obey

13. populo *deest* C. 19. quomodocunque A. 22. preferetur BC.
28. et *pro* ut B. 33. officias A; *ib.* quod *pro* ut A. 35. comuni *pro* quam A.

this rule, but enter houses by means of permissions obtained, and take women captive; which ought to be understood in the sense that they tempt weak-minded persons, and get authority over them to lead them astray.

7. St. Francis commands that holy poverty should be observed in everything; the Friars do just the reverse. For this there is no excuse; instead of preaching poverty by their example, they move men to delight in their worldly splendour. Thus they rob the poor in detail of large sums; which differs from plundering an individual only in so far as it is worse. If they love the Gospel doctrine of sharing with the poor, let them give to those that need: St. Martin wanted his cloak more than they their possessions.

in locis abditis non vocati se ingerunt, sed, ut fertur, mulierculas ducunt per patrias in forma fratrum. Et quod plus credo esse de sensu apostoli, captivant sensus debiliū. Constat quidem ex sensu quem Augustinus imponit scripture Gen. de temptatione viri et femine per serpentem, quod conformis est forma temptationis cuius-
cunque persone peccantis, cum excitans extrinsecus sit quasi diabolus; sensualitas vero, ut femina; et ratio, ut vir. Fratres autem gerentes vicem diaboli temptant infirmos in fide, ut feminas, et freno infidelitatis ducunt
captivas per devium.

7^o regula Francisci precipit quod in actibus fratrum semper paupertas sancta reluceat; et fratres laborant ut in eorum ecclesiis, claustris, domibus, ornamentis et libris, magnitudo et decor et diviciarum effectus resplendeat. Paliacio autem huius facti alibi destruitur. Ideo non restat causa eius, nisi forte quia fratres tenentur ad observanciam religionis Christi predicare in verbis et opere populo paupertatem; sed visitantes loca fratrum tanquam spectacula moventur multipliciter delectari in mundi gloria et irreligiose ad similia aspirare. Et in tantum vulgares edificandum tales libros diaboli spoliatur; et, sicut etici sunt ex cautela diaboli insensibiliter inaniti. Nil enim refert colligere tales minucias de plebe paupere et totum simul de una persona simplici spoliare, nisi quod fraus
ypocrisis est undique maior, persona plebis iniuriata est egencior, et fraus subtractionis iuvaminis ad servandam religionem ecclesie est venenosior. Totum igitur corporale dampnum istius rapine sacrilege redundat sensibilius in pauperes populares. Sed si fratres tantum
appreciantur imparticionem ewangelicam elemosine, debent supersedere a talibus sumptuosos et irreligiosos apparatus, distribuendo bona pauperum que fraudulenter spoliaverunt pauperibus, cecis, claudis et debilibus, satisfaciendo pro iniuste ablatiis et cavendo de iniuriis perpetrandis. Non
enim tantum egent fratres sumptibus istis superfluis, sicut indiguit Martinus, miles gloriosus religiosus, clamide qua in aura gelida sub forma pauperis induit salvatorem.

1. esse deest C. 3. consensu B. 12. Septima C. 13. laborent C.
31. iterum vulgares C. 21. ethnici A; ethici C. 23. insensibiliter
deest A; ib. vel; in marg. nichil C. 27. invaminibus A. 30. se-
culares ac acafter pauperes C. 37. Martinus deest B; ib. gloriosus
deest BC; ib. quam A.

16. *Alibi*. If this is not a quotation, Wyclif alludes to some words in the preceding chapter; also to *De Apostasia*, p. 32.

8^o regula beati Francisci declarata in Clementinis, ca^o
 'Exiit de paradiso', a parte continet preceptorie quod
 fratres minores non utantur nisi vilibus pannis, scilicet,
 et que iuxta consuetudinem patrie viles debeant reputari;
 5 non misceant se execucionibus testamentorum et dispen-
 sacionibus bonorum; quod non faciant aut fieri sustineant
 ecclesias vel alia quecunque edificia que, considerato
 fratrum inhabitantium numero, excessiva in multitu-
 dine et magnitudine debeant reputari, sed temperatis et
 10 humilibus edificiis sint contenti; nec habere debent
 apparamenta vel preciosa vasa non conveniencia statui
 paupertatis. Et eadem indubie est causa vel ratio de
 quibuscunque fratribus. Sed iudicet mundus si faciunt
 contrarie isti legi. Et patet quomodo leges papales fratres
 15 magnificant et extollunt, ut ewangelium et ultra, dum
 fastum vel questum illis sapiunt; sed leges alias que ad
 religionem suam astringunt vel sensum scripture sen-
 tenciant, parvipendunt. Iudicet, rogo, ecclesia quomodo
 observant hanc legem, quam papa precipit: 'Exivit de
 20 paradiso.' Nam quantum ad primum preceptum videtur
 quod fratres non utuntur pannis qui iuxta consuetudinem
 patrie viles debeant reputari; cum in Anglia panni albi
 75^b nigri et russeti sunt apud regem et dominos plurimum
 preciiati. Et quantum ad valorem, dicitur quod fratres
 25 emunt huiusmodi pannos satis caros. Et quantum ad
 formam amplitudinis indumenti, patet quod non relucet
 nimis magna religiositas in vestium parcite. Sed utinam
 plus appreciarentur colorem quam valorem qui religiosus
 foret amplius ponderandus! Sed quis tunc gereret vicem
 30 phariseorum, qui colant culicem et degluciant camelum
 ut dicitur Matth. 23. Quantum ad secundum preceptum
 Q. pape, quod non intromittant se de distribucionibus bo-
 Matth. XXIII, 24 norum mortui testatoris, dicitur quod faciunt et procu-
 rant illicitis viis oppositum. Quantum ad 3^m preceptum
 35 pape, quod non excedant in edificiis vel ornamentis limites
 altissime paupertatis, mundus clamat quod studiose faciunt
 oppositum. Et sic de lege pape libro 6^o de sepulturis,
 ca^o, "Animarum periculis"; ubi suo stricto modo pena

8. The Rule incorporated in Canon Law forbids Franciscans to wear a habit of stuff considered costly where they live, to interfere in secular affairs, to build churches of excessive size, or to possess any object of price.

Let the world judge how they keep these rules.

They obey Papal laws only when they are exalted thereby: those which bind them down to their duties are made of no account.

In England stuffs of white or russet hue are prized even by the king: yet they wear them, and pay dear enough: their religion does not show itself in scantiness of garment.

The cheapness makes chiefly for poverty, and this, like Pharisees, they neglect.

As for poverty in their churches &c. they take good care to avoid it.

It is probable that their churches and churchyards lie

1. Octava C. 2. Exivit C. 5. testarum A. 8. excessivam A; excessum BC. 15. vel pro et before ultra C. 16. illis deest C. 18. et parvipendunt A. 23. russeti A. 25. pannos deest B. 26. similitudinis B; ib. non omnes MSS. 38. certo BC.

26. Amplitudinis. See Engl. Works of W. p. 306. 33. Sexti Decr. l. III, tit. 12, c. 1. 38. Sexti. Decr. III. tit. 52. c. 1.

under the
interdict uttered
against Friars
who induce
men to have
their tombs
placed there.

It is therefore
certain that no
one should
choose to be
buried amongst
them.

Every Church
law that favours
their interest
and ambition is
respected by
them, while
the others are
set aside.

interdicti tam ecclesie quam cimiterii, infligitur quibus-
cunque religiosi qui inducunt aliquos ad fovendum,
iurandum, seu fide interposita vel alias promittendum,
ut apud eorum ecclesias eligunt sepulturam vel iam elec-
tam ulterius non immutent. Et tamen probabiliter creditur 5
ab expertis quod fratres multipliciter inducunt aliorum
parochianos ut apud eorum loco eligant sepulturas; vel
oportet negare decretalem pape, vel quod loca eorum
subiaceant ecclesiastico interdicto. Et per consequens ex
lege papali de sententia excomunicacionis in 6^o, incur- 10
rerent irregularitatem et excomunicacionem in ibi ce-
lebrando. Nec vertitur fideli in dubium quin nemo, nisi
seductus mendaciis, eligeret sepeliri in talibus locis talium
personarum. Sic igitur illas leges hominum, de quanto
lucrum vel fastum sapiunt, supra legem Cristi magnificant 15
in effectu; ut patet de illa lege 5^o decretalium "Omnis
utriusque sexus"; de quanto inducit eis confitendos, qui
ipsis lucrificiant. Et vel procurant decretales aut earum
interpretaciones vel glossas fieri; ut videtur de illa lege
in Clementinis de sepulturis dudum; sic de legibus sa- 20
pientibus fidem de corpore Cristi et aliis fidei articulis,
de quanto cedunt ad laudem sui nominis, licet non
fundentur in rationibus vel scriptura. Alia autem decreta
sanctorum, ex quibus instrueretur ad magnam eius edi-
ficacionem ecclesia, parvipendunt. 25

10. dicto *pro lege C*; *ib.* excommunicat ut incurrerent *C*; *ib.* before
in a gap *A*. 20. decorem *A*. 25. ecclesiam *B*; eiam *C*.

CAPITULUM SEXTUMDECIMUM.

A. Quantum ad simulacionem fratrum et quorumcunque possessionatorem privati ordinis religioni simplici cristiane, videtur tam prelatos quam ipsos religiosos debere laborare ad istam similitudinem acquirendam. Possibilitas vero eius patet de pape potestate, tacta 1^o ca^o. Ideo non dubium [quod] quicumque negaverit papam hoc posse facere, debet consequenter negare leges et ordinationes ecclesie ut blasfemas. Si enim papa habet potestatem statuendi et confirmandi istos ordines, habet potestatem ex emergenti causa rationabili iterum dissolvendi. Sed primum concederet tam papa quam fratres. Ideo secundum oportet eos concedere consequenter. Sic enim cassavit papa de facto multos ordines; nec est ratio quare non istos posset dissolvere.

Item, omnis ordinatio ecclesie edificatoria, que non est deo propria, subiacet potestati pape; sed talis ordinatio foret ad edificationem ecclesie, et deus potest communicare illam homini: ergo pape. Non enim est lex adinventata a fratribus forcior quam ordinatio in qua Christus instituit suam ecclesiam; sed illam cassavit papa, ut patet de dotacione ecclesie. Unde glosa ordinaria decretorum 25 q. 1^a: "Sunt quidam", dicit "quod papa nedom dispensat contra apostolum, sed etiam contra deum"; igitur papa potest evidencius in hoc minus.

Item, papa dispensat cottidie cum doctoribus et pocioribus de ordine fratrum, ut sint secreti capellani sui, et sic exonerentur ab omni tradicionem privata preter habitum corporalem. Cum igitur hoc sit maxime alienum ab ordine, nec potencia pape terminatur ad maximum

Friars, Bishops, and the Pope himself ought to labour to restore Christ's pure religion: and the latter has the power do it, unless Church laws are all blasphemies. What he can make, that he can unmake; and in fact, popes have dissolved many orders: why not these?

Again, all Church ordinances that are not God's peculiar right, depend on the power of the Pope: such would be this ordinance. Since the Pope abolished Christ's primitive institution, he can restore it again. Again, the Pope grants dispenses to some Friars not to follow their observance: he can therefore do so for all,

1. Cap. 16 in red ink. 2. Initial Q in red ink; ib. quorumcunque C.
7. quod deest omnes MSS. 11. rō¹¹ = rationali A; rō^Y. (sic) C.
13, 14. cessavit AB. 27. secreta B. 29. fit A.
23. Decr. Grat. 2^a P., C^a XXV, qu. 1, c. 6.

there being no limit as to their number. He might give dispensations to some, all the others dying suddenly, and the former might take another habit: the order would exist no longer.

There would be no apostasy in this case: a Papal dispensation would set all things right. That their possessions would return to the Pope at their death is a venal objection, unworthy of religious men.

This being possible, it is clear that the new Order, 1. as more like primitive Christianity,

2. as giving more freedom to each member,

and 3. as being the object of a dispensation, and necessarily for the better, would be preferable to the old ones.

To bring about this change is a duty: 1. on the part of the Pope. His chief function is to edify the Church, and this great edification would be so

numerum partis ordinum, non ad totum, videtur quod cum toto dispensare potest conformiter. Nam possibile foret, papa dispensante cum viginti de uno ordine, totum residuum morte vel alio casu deficere. Ymmo, possibile foret ipsos fratres consimilis libertatis induere, et sic 5 ordinem novum excrescere; plus enim extraneant, salvato nomine eiusdem ordinis, quam facerent fratres taliter procreati. Nec valet dicere quod omnes tales forent apostate; quia fratres religiose communicant cum talibus exemtis in habitacionibus et in mensis. Cum igitur sepe 10 multipliciter occidunt alios, ut dicitur, pro levi apostasia, sequitur ex facto quod non reputant | tales apostotas. 76* Licet igitur illis cum dispensacione pape obedienciam talem dimittere, nec sapit tantam religionem, quod ipsis mortuis papa habeat omnia bona sua, quin deleta illa 15 symoniaca venalitate ordo fratrum factus noviter servet totum residuum libertatis. Non enim habet tantam vim condicio illa symoniaca, quin, illa deleta, posset stare residua religio depravata.

Supposita igitur possibilitate talis ordinis ex dispen- 20 sacione pape, et cassata obligacione ad detestacionem illam symonaciam et inducionem habitus corporalis, patet quod talis religio foret perfectior. Primo quia foret similior religioni simplici cristiane. Et illa, ex sepe dictis, est perfectior quacunque religione privata. 2^o, quia talis 25 religiosus foret ad perficiendum mandata Cristi et consilia liberior, cum in privatis ordinibus habet multa inpedimenta, que ab execucione istorum culpabiliter difficultant. Et 3^o, quia, ut oportet fratres confiteri ut fidem, illa dispensacio pape est licita; sed non foret dispensacio, 30 sed religionis Cristi dissipacio, nisi foret ad melius. Ideo oportet ipsos concedere quod melius esset eis pro salute anime sic privilegiari, quam in priori ordine residere.

Istis suppositis, probatur via triplici quod debent redire ad religionem simplicem cristianam. Et primo ex 35 parte pape. Ipse enim debet precipue sollicitari circa edificacionem ecclesie, conformiter legi Cristi, cum hoc sit capitale eius officium, ad quod strictissime obligatur; sed foret ad maiorem edificacionem ecclesie quod omnes

11. proximo de *pro* pro levi apostata A. 14, 15. ipsis mortuus A;
episcopis B. 15. qn = quando. 19. depravata AB. 23. quod *deest* AC;
ib. perfectior — foret *deest* C. 25. quid C. 26. et consilia *deest* C.
29. quod illa A. 34. quia A.

cristiani militarent secundum unam religionem simplicem cristianam; igitur, cum hoc foret pape tam facile, videtur quod sub pena omissionis dampnabilis hoc debet facere. Quam, rogo, rationem deo redderet ex tanta accidia?

easy for him, that his not achieving it would be inexcusable.

5 2^o videtur ex parte fratrum quod procurarent illud sollicitè. Nam, secundum Jeronimum, non mediocriter peccat qui postposito magis bono eligit minus bonum. Sed fratres debent scire quod talis exempcio foret eis utilior; igitur ad hoc debent precipue laborare. Confir-

2. On the part of the Friars themselves; they ought to know that such a change is for their good.

10 matur ex hoc quod nedum est licitum, sed in casu debitum, relinquere religionem antiquam, et religionem fratrum propter suam perfeccionem intrare. Evidencius igitur debent fratres traditiones suas imperfectas deserere et quietari in perfeccione simplici cristiana. Si enim papa

They admit that if the Pope gave them all a dispensation it would be a good thing; but the motive of that dispensation now exists, and even in spite of the Pope they ought to act upon it.

15 generaliter de possibili sic dispensaret, tunc foret utilius, ut fatentur: sed prius, antequam papa dispensat, est ratio apud deum. Ergo, licet papa non dispenset, remanet eque bonum. Et ista negligencia videtur fratres tenere continue, dum pausant in tali privato proposito. Nec

20 foret declinacio ab illo peccato eis difficilis, cum sciunt quod deus dispensat, eciam papa culpabiliter renitente, ut patet ex dictis. Quomodo igitur excusantur, qui in vacuum gratiam dei ita recipiunt? Deus enim dispensat cum illis, et tamen in stulticia culpabili convolvuntur.

That no influential members leave their orders, is due to their inveterate malice.

25 Nec movet quod subtiles eorum perseverant in isto proposito; quia diaboli subtiliores, indurati in sua malicia, permanent in sua stulticia, ubi faciliter possent converti ad Christum habendo misericordiam, gratiam, et gloriam

C. citissime, si non obstaret sua veterata malicia. Unde

30 omnes declinantes a lege Cristi sapiunt ut sic stulticiam diaboli, in cuius inveteracione cadit periculum.

3^o videtur quod populus debet cogere fratres stulticiam istam dimittere, quia secte tales ipsos multipliciter dampnificant; quod debent tollere. Dampnificant, inquam,

3. On the part of the people; because they eat up the property of the common wealth. It would be easy to put an end to them by cutting off supplies to the Order, which might be continued to

35 consumendo indebite bona reipublice, ut patet in cibariis, in domibus et in aliis ornamentis. Istud autem foret facile regem et regnum tollere subtrahendo, ut tactum est in fine De apostasia, quodcunque temporale suffragium quod redundaret illis in quantum talis ordinis. Staret enim

40 cum hoc comunicare illis elemosinas in Cristo in quantum

4. accidencia A. 10. ex hoc deest AB. 12. perfeccionem deest C.
14. perfecciori religione BC. 16. quod pro sed A. 16, 17. est —
dispenset deest A. 17. igitur C. 21. remittente A. 23. ita deest A.
34. dent C. 36. in before aliis deest C. 39. et pro quod B.

them as private persons; and if any of them was more fit than a Church dignitary, he ought to take his place.

Besides, they do great harm by sowing lies, and opposing the efforts of those who would bring men back to Christ.

There would be then, it is objected, no more scholastic degrees in universities, nor science of Scripture, nor good preaching. University degrees have indeed their uses, but are not founded on Holy Writ, and occasion many evils: v. g. election intrigues, simoniacal conspiracies, and spoliation of the people.

Friars of a meaner rank know too well how much they are despised by those of a higher degree; there is no Scripture warrant for this.

individua cristiana, ubique meritorius quam sit modo. Unde videtur mihi inprecandum quod quicumque frater habilior ad regendum ecclesiam quam dictus incumbens, sit, ipso expulso, in eius nomine subrogatus. Sed, quod magis moveret ad istam practicam, secte nimis spisse 5 blasphemant in deum, seminantes mendacia; et per consequens nedum subtrahunt a populo spirituale suffragium, sed venenando rempublicam agravant peccatum. Nam proposito puncto ut populus vivat conformiter legi Cristi, fratres in facie apponent obicem, fovescentes partem anti- 10 cristi, preter privata mala que seminant. Nec dubium quin castigati per prepositos vel prudentem subtractionem temporalium a venenacione ista desisterent, et plebem in qua consistit maior cristiana religio, dimissis exhortacionibus fallacibus | cum ludicriis, adaugerent. Et sic 15 76 undique dei populus, et per consequens honor dei cum bono reipublice augeretur. Itaque omnis homo staret pro suavi et levi observancia legis dei, cum turpe foret, sumptuosum et difficile, fovere discipulos anticristi.

Sed 2^o obicitur quod facta confusione ordinum, perirent 20 gradus scolastici et per consequens subtilis expositio scripture et recta predicacio verbi dei. Sed quo ad istud videtur D. quod de religione Cristi non foret 2^m tradiciones studiorum aliquis doctor scolasticus inter fratres. Immo, licet talis graduacio in universitatibus prosit per accidens, videtur 25 michi quod religiosum foret per totum cristianismum leges talis graduacionis tolli, quia non sunt fundabiles in scriptura; sed occasione data, ex graduacione tali inter fratres veniunt multa mala. Ut, ratione eleccionis ad cathedram, currunt ad intra multe consideraciones et ope- 30 rationes illiciti; et tam ad intra quam ad extra multe conspiraciones symoniace, et multe tradiciones primevi ordinis destructive. Et cum totus iste processus sit sumptuosus, non superest, nisi quod ista spoliacio sumptuum redundat in populum. 35

Quantum ad primum noverunt fideles fratres, pauperes et abiecti, quantum a suis fratribus superioribus contempnuntur, et quanta servitute irrationabili deprimuntur. Nec dubium quin non sit fundabile in scriptura, in qua est omnis veritas, nisi (ut loquar ironice) in aliquo istorum 40 trium locorum. Primo in dicto beati Jacobi primo ca^o

3. *hūlior hūlior* A; *humilior* C. 6. *mēdaciā* A. 8. *venando* AC;
ib. Non A. 12. *castiganti omnes MSS*; *ib. per in marg. suppl.* C.
24. *alia* A. 27. *tales* B.

- de personarum acceptione. *Nolite*, inquit, in personarum acceptione habere fidem domini glorie. Cum enim introierit vir in conventum vestrum, anulum habens aureum in veste candida; introierit autem pauper in sordido habitu: et intendatis in eum qui indutus est veste preclara, et dixeritis ei: tu sede hic bene; pauperi autem dicatis: tu sta illic, aut sede sub scabello pedum meorum: Nonne iudicatis apud vosmetipsos et facti estis cogitationum iniquarum iudices? Idem autem et evidencius est iudicium de fratre
- 10 racione graduacionis a suis confratribus honorificandus; quia ita alienum est a lege Cristi, quod frater propter talem graduacionem honorem talem suscipiat, sicut foret propter splendenciam ornamenti. Nam nec infert alcioritatem status in quo Cristus statuebat ecclesiam, nec
- 15 preeminenciam virtutis: et solum racione istorum duorum videtur regem celorum velle hominem honorari. Nam sepe contingit fratrem sic graduatum fratre simplici magis deficere tam sciencia quam virtute.
- Talis autem honoracio fundatur in scriptura secundum
- 20 gradus latitudinis, ut rex racione status est excellencius Pet. honorandus. Iuxta illud 2 Petr. 2^o *Regem honorificate*, et alii in suis gradibus honoris mundani, ut sunt alciores arbores vel minus alte. Clerus autem debet gradatim in virtutibus, secundum modum alium, venerari: ut ille qui
- 25 debet reputari sancior, debet reputative amplius venerari. Sed honor dandus clericis non debet stare in mundi gloria, sed in honore dei secundum excellenciam virtutis vel status quem deus in ipso instituit; et tantum honorat quilibet alium in effectum, quantum iuvat deum
- 30 et promovet racionem in illo homine, 2^m quam taliter honoratur. Ut ille qui iuvat presbiterum in causa dei ut vivat secundum institutionem Cristi conformiter, et causam illam in ipso promovet vel defendit, ipse honorat illum presbiterum. Et faciendo oppositum inhonorat;

St. James
blames all
preference
given to a man
on account of
his riches:

but preference
given on
account of a
degree is quite
as unchristian.

It neither
proves a higher
degree of
ecclesiastical
perfection nor
of virtue: a
Friar without a
degree may
both know
more and be a
better man than
a graduate.

Honour is of
two distinct
kinds:

one is,
according to
Scripture, to be
paid to the
king and
temporal
dignitaries
according to
their position;
the other is
spiritual
veneration, to
be given
according as
the state of any
person implies
holiness;
and this second
kind is shown
by helping that
person to attain
the holiness of
his state.

1, 2. Nolite — acceptione deest B. 2. domini nostri B. 3. anulum A.
5. indutus B. 7. illuc BC; ib. nostrorum A. 13, 14. alterioritatem A.
17. graduatim AB. 21. / pro Iuxta illud C; ib. honorate A. 31, 32. qui —
secundum deest B.

20. *Latitudinis*. *Altitudinis* naturally suggests itself as a correction of the MSS. I am, however, not quite sure, notwithstanding 'alciores' on l. 22, that it ought to be adopted. Wyclif employs the word *latitudo* regularly in *Logica* to indicate a certain intensity of a quality; and its use here seems quite as technical as in that work. *Gradus latitudinis* is quite a common expression with him there.

Thus, aiding a priest to live according to Christ's institution, we honour him, and we dishonour him when we exalt or enrich him. Mundane glory is the ruin of Christ's religion: it is that acception of persons condemned by St. James, exemplified in worldly bishops, in graduated Friars, and in seculars, when honoured according to their outward show.

A Bishop of the present day would be far above St. Peter; a vicious and stupid Friar, if graduated, would be more honourable than one not graduated and a minstrel, a fool or a prodigal, more than his king. These are blasphemies; for by ascribing honour to whom honour is not due, we imply that God gives honour likewise.

Consider a graduated Friar: he gets his degree by a Papal bull, or letters of

ut dando sacerdotibus honores mundanos in ditacione stercorum temporalium, homo non honoraret sed inhonoraret eos. Ideo, cum Cristiana religio infirmatur E. per declinacionem ad mundum, patet quod ipsam dirrumpit potissime acceptacio personarum; ut, quia 5 mundus afficitur ad terrena et honores naturaliter affectat, inordinatus amor honoris vel temporalium secundum fastum et questum dirrumpit religionem Cristi. Et illa est personarum accepccio, quam contempnat beatus Jacobus; et sic generaliter, quando sacerdos 10 comendatur eo amplius quo habet maiorem adiacenciam temporalium, ut patet de prelatis cesareis; vel proportionaliter ut ritus mundani ipsum magis significant quoad mundum, ut contingit de fratre et alio presbitero pilliato; ymo honorando secularem ut habet magis 15 splendida ornamenta. Nam iuxta primam stulticiam unus de episcopis nostris foret infinitum honoracior sancto Petro, cum ipse dicit Act. 3^o *Argentum et aurum non est michi*. Iuxta 2^{am} stulticiam frater ydiota quantumcunque viciosus pilliatus foret quantumcunque honoracior fratre scienciori et virtuosiori non taliter graduato. Et iuxta 3^{am} stulticiam unus ministrallus stultus vel prodigus foret honoracior rege suo.

Omnes autem istas blasfemias 2^m beatum Jacobum inducit personarum accepccio. Et dico blasfemias, quia 25 iuxta fidem quilibet debet honorare hominem proportionaliter ut deus ipsum honorat. Acceptor igitur personarum, qui in ista honorificencia a deo discrepat, inponit deo implicate stultam veneracionem consimilem, quod est blasfemia. Ideo signanter, propter iudicium 30 proprium a deo discrepans, dicit beatus Jacobus: *Nonne iudicatis apud vosmetipsos et facti estis cogitacionum iniquarum iudices?* Omnes enim tales habent proprium iudicium; quod, quia discrepat a prima iusticia, est iniquum.

Pensemus igitur fructum fratris pilliati. Nam eo ipso 35 quo per bullas pape, quo per literas dominorum vel mediaciones dominarum, vel 3^o si symoniace emerit

2, 3. hō on'arz et A; hōaret z inhōar3. 3. declinacionem C.
7. affectant A. 10. quia A. 11. ad maiorem B. 13. humani C.
15. pilliato A. 18. 3^o deest; blank space B. 20. pilatus A.
16. scienciore C; ib. virtuosiore C. 21. homo A. 25. blasfema A.
31. notentur hic fructus fratris pilliati in marg. B. 36. ad pro per
before bullas. 36, 37. vel — vel deest A; dominorum omnes MSS.

37. The MSS. have *dominorum*. See, to justify the correction, Eng. Works of W. p. 246.

gracias a perversis in universitatibus, sic quod quantumcunque inhabilis doctoretur, vendicat infinitum excellenciozem honorem quam frater suus, licet habilior, ex eorum decreto nunquam ad cathedram graduandus; 5 habebit enim cameram sibi perpetuatam, cappellanum et famulum, splendidiusque et laucius ministerium. Sed a labore predicacionis, a sureccione ad matutinas in medio noctis, et a quocunque quod sonat in obedienciam et meritum in fratre simplici, est exemptus. Quod si 10 raro aliquod opus bonum fecerit, hoc sonabit ad sui gloriam; et tum magnificabitur a suis complicitibus; quod propter adulacionem mendacem esset utique melius quod F. taceret. Nec mirum de multiplicacione mendacii, quia dicunt quod in obediencia et ritibus sui ordinis stat 15 maius meritum quam in nostro ordine: et tamen dicunt in praxi quod summa perfeccio sui ordinis foret graduatum ad exempcionem a tali perfeccione sollicite laborare! Ideo homines non credunt eis in isto, cum vita, cui animus afficitur, contradicit. Religiosum igitur foret quod 20 pilliacionem illam falsam in singulis dimitterent; sic enim fecerunt in sui exordio, quando religio in eis plus floruit.

Et sic tolleretur ab eis blasfema elemosinarum participio. Nam regula caritatis exigit quod dividatur singulis, pro ut cuique opus erat, cum aliter foret invida personarum 25 accepcio; hoc autem sonat blasfemia, cum, ut sic, intenditur impugnare divinum iudicium. Et tamen Hester VI, 9 dicitur: *Sic honorabitur quam rex voluerit honorare*; quod est maxime proprium regi regum. Que igitur est ratio quaré fratres eiusdem ordinis in sacerdocio, sanctitate 30 et sciencia quo ad necessaria salubri dei ministerio, preponuntur? Non dubium quin pater mendacii docuit istam differenciam secundum adinventiones politicas. Et in talibus blasfemis personarum accepcionibus necesse est tales conventiculares cum ceteris nequiciis irretiri. 35 Si igitur omnes dicte secte vel nimis numerosi 2^m hoc 3^x devium, quo pilliacio fratri acquiritur, pilliati forent, quam monstruosa foret talis religio, quia gravarent in expensis rempublicam! Nunquam inter fratres foret distributio, et omnino intra eos foret contencio *quis eorum videretur esse maior*. Iste igitur fructus est ordinum privatorum.

I. uc.

XXII,

24

2. fructu (sic) A. 3. humilior A. 6. quia pro que A. 11. cum A; tantum C. 20. pilliacionem C; ib. signis AC. 24. invidia A. 25. accepcione A. 26. tam A; cum C. 28. est deest AC. 35. dñe A.

recommenda-
tion from some
lord,
or by means of
a bribe;
and he is
treated
infinitely better
than a
non-graduate;
he has a room
and servants of
his own, and
everything on a
better footing;
he is exempted
from preaching,
from the Choir,
and from all
acts of
obediencie.
Here is a lie:
they say that
obediencie
renders their
Order more
meritorious
than ours; yet
the supreme
perfection of
their state is to
be exempted
from
obediencie!
They ought to
give up such
practices and
live as they did
at first.
By this means
the alms which
they receive
would be
shared equally.
Each ought to
receive
according as he
requires: i. e.
according to
God's will.
Why should
one Friar be
worse off than
another, if he
is his equal in
everything?
Suppose that
every member
of each of the
orders was
graduated:
what a
monstrous
community they
would make!

Again, Christ forbade His disciples to call each other Rabbi; and these men, bound to follow Christ so closely, despise His words, waste for their degrees large sums that belong to the poor, and abandon that very perfection to which they are bound.

Their General, contrary to Christ's commands, domineers over them; spiderlike, he weaves a net through which camels (graduates) pass, and in which gnats are taken.

If a Friar offends, nay, sometimes if he observes God's law, he is imprisoned till he writes down a retraction and becomes the slave of the devil.

These cobwebs catch simple and weak-minded men.

Secundum fundamentum ad tollendum talem graduationem in fratribus est illud Matth. 23^o, ubi Cristus precipit quod non vocentur *rabi* vel *patres*, ut excellencia dei reverencius inprimatur, et ut superba dissensionis occasio excludatur. Quomodo igitur qui tam alte obligatur ad Cristi consilia tam frontose et tam laboriose contempnit vel sophisticat eius verba? Non dubium quin inanis gloria et contemptus domini sint in causa. Nam non solum in inceptione sua incurrit periurium, consumendo de spoliacionibus pauperum ultra tria milia turonensium grossorum; sed, ut sic, pilliatus inhabilitat se ipsum ad observandum perfectionem ordinis cui stulte obligatus est, et ut sit herba venenosa in agro domine sancte matris ecclesie multipliciter infectiva.

3^m autem fundamentum contra istam superinductam blasphemiam est dictum Cristi Luce 22^o; *Reges gentium dominantur eorum, et qui potestatem habent super eos benefici vocantur. Vos autem non sic.* Et tamen dicitur quod nimis dominative et nimis potestative capitaneus fratrum imperat suis fratribus; et tanquam aranea pausans in angulo, orditur telas diaboli quibus illaqueat fratres suos, ut quod frater suus dire incarceretur pro culice, ymmo quandoque pro observancia legis dei, et graduetur pro inglucione cameli. Et incarceratus per mendosum scandalum fratris sui non exhibit carcerem antequam manu propria scripserit mendaciter scandalum false sibi inpositum, accusando se ipsum et excusando diabolum; ac ulterius obligando se quod nunquam ulterius in hoc invehet contra ipsum; et sic detestando causam Cristi devenit simpliciter servus diaboli. Tales dicuntur multe tele ex interioribus diaboli subtilitate pedum membrorum suorum contexti cottidie, cum quibus fratres simplices et debiles tanquam bestiole capiuntur.

5. accio A. 5, 6. obligantur omnes MSS. 6. fructuose AC.
9. periurius A. 11. sic pro sed omnes MSS. 13. domini omnes MSS.
16. 12 B. 16. arena A. 21. celatur A; ib. illaqueet C. 32. continue C.
33. bestiole deest C.

10. In *munimenta Academica* (Anstey) we find an Austin Friar paying £ 10 as a composition, instead of feasting the Regent Masters on his inception. P. 564. 30. I cannot thinking help that there is here an allusion to some Friar, whose Wycliffian tendencies were severely put down. This would give more colour to my hypothesis (*De Apostasia*, Introduction) that Wyclif had many partisans among the Friars; the whole of the chapter, read in this light, has particular meaning.

Et ille tradiciones inique sunt ut ewangelium observate. Confundantur itaque venena talia privatorum ordinum, ut deus debet nobis gratiam tenendi bonum graduacionum quas stulte suscepimus | et cavendi malum culpecomixtum.

5 Et patet quod non ex hinc perirent scola Cristi, sensus scripture vel fructuosa predicacio verbi dei, cum summe floruerant ante ista. Ymmo videtur quod evidencius quam civile dominium privata religio sapit peccatum; et per consequens non supra religionem Cristi foret suum
10 ewangelium, vel vita apostolica per talem adinventionem culpabilem deturpandum; ipsam enim privatam religionem necessario consequitur personarum acceptio, ad observanciam consiliorum Cristi difficultacio, et tradicionum infundabilium oneracio. Sed 3^o principaliter notandum
15 est quod a tempore quo fratres adulterati fuerant verbum dei, pullularunt hereses, sophismata scripture, germinaverunt yppocrises per multiplicata mendacia, et prevaluerunt diffidencie et dissensiones per sectas novellas, antiqua religione sopita.

20 Ut nunc invaluit quedam secta maniaca, cancellans magnam partem ewangelii tanquam falsissimam, et per consequens hereticam et blasphemam. Ista enim secta
Ps. CX, 4 faciendo in Oxonia memoriam mirabilium suorum, congregata fuit latenter cum fratribus 4^{or}; et tanquam tota
H. 25 universitas penderet in manu eorum, heretici dicuntur heretisasse duas sentencias de Eukaristia; prima, quod post consecracionem in missa remaneat substantia panis materialis in hostia consecrata. Et, ne deficientibus
30 argumentis enuelietur eorum stulticia, excomunicarunt eos, qui tenent, docent, vel intersunt doctrine contrarii. Sed inter eos deus movit quemdam doctorem secularem catholicum, ut non consenciat, sed contradicat stulticie eorum. Ipse autem dicitur interrogasse eos in primis, si voluerint hereticare sanctorum sentencias de universalibus ex parte rei, ex quibus signa capiunt apud
35 logicos nomen suum. At illi hoc pre verecundia negaverunt. At ille: "Ex hoc", inquit, "sequitur quod substantia panis materialis remanet in hostia consecrata. Genus,

There would be no loss if this graduation were put an end to.

1. Preaching and expounding of Scripture existed before it.

2. Since the gospel of these private religions savours more of sin than civil lordship, it is not above that of Christ.

3. Since the institution of Friars, heresies have been multiplied, as in Oxford of late.

Four Friars, together with an assembly of heretics, condemned the doctrine that the substance of bread remained after consecration.

But God moved a Catholic Doctor to ask them whether they intended to condemn the doctrine of universals ex parte rei: which they denied.

Then he pointed out that in that doctrine the substance of bread and of Christ's body

2. et C. 3. det C; *ib.* graduacionem A. 10. vita deest C. 11. decerpendum B. 18. et *pro* per B. 20. moniacha B. 22. autem BC. 23. facieſ in o. . . . meoria A; faciendo in Oxoniis C. 28. immaterialis B. 31. inter eos deest C.

20 and seq. The condemnation is given in *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 110. 26. I have translated this passage in *De Apostasia*, Introduction.

being identical,
the substantial
presence of
Christ's Body
implies the
substance of
bread.

To Scriptural
arguments, and
to the likeli-
hood that
whatever such
madmen
condemned was
true, he added:

According to
logicians, the
substance is
wherever a
body is;
therefore there
must be
material
substance in
the Host.

For in the
consecrated
Host there is
thickness,
which
according to
Aristotle is a
body.

Again, Christ's
Body is a
substance, and
it is 'bread
indeed';
therefore it is
the substance
of bread.

It is therefore
a compound of
matter and
form.

And Christ's
Body, not being
immaterial,

inquam, substantie est ubicunque fuerit aliquod eius
individuum. Sed in dicto sacramento est individuum
generis substantie; quia, ut ipsi asserunt, ibi est cor-
poraliter corpus Cristi: igitur remanet in ipsa hostia
ipsum genus. Et cum ipsum sit substantia (quia quiditas
cuiuscunque materialis substantie), et sic panis; sequitur
quod substantia panis materialis remanet in hostia
consecrata". Et quia nescierunt tollere hanc evidenciam,
ipsos renuit tanquam stultos. Sophismata autem dicitur
taliter innexisse: "Per ante", inquit, "non habui argu-
menta, nisi solum modo ex scriptura; modo autem
accrevit argumentum topicum quod *si dicti maniaci*
hereticaverint dictam sententiam; igitur verum". "Ad
hoc", inquit, "adducuntur evidencie logice isto modo.
Ubicunque est corpus panis materialis, est substantia
panis materialis; sed in hostia consecrata est corpus
panis materialis: igitur est ibi substantia panis materi-
alis. Maior patet per logicos, qui dicunt quod in omni
genere accidentis est dare substantiam rei, et alia que
sibi accidentaliter inexistunt. Unde Augustinus, super
psalmo 68, dicit quod omnis creatura est substantia.
Minor autem probatur sic: In hostia consecrata est
profunditas panis materialis qui prefuit, et omnis talis
profunditas est corpus, dicente Aristotele in predica-
mentis ca^o de quantitate, quod unum genus quantitatis
est linea, superficies et corpus. 2^o arguitur sic ad idem:
In hostia consecrata remanet corpus Cristi, et ipsum est
substantia panis materialis; igitur conclusio. Maiorem
suppono ex fide et datis ab adversario, et minor patet
ex fide scripture; cum corpus Cristi sit panis, ut adver-
sarii propter reverenciam concorditer confitentur. Nec
dubium, quin per idem est substantia panis et quod sit
panis materialis. Ex hoc videtur quod est panis compos-
itus ex materia et forma. Sic enim vocat ewangelium
illum *panem vite, panem qui de celo descendit, et panem*
nostrum cottidianum; cum talia comitantur per accidens
corpus Cristi. Igitur, cum ipsum corpus sit per se
materiale, multo evidencius foret panis materialis. Non

1. igitur A; inquit C. 9. remittit A; sophita C. 20. accidentaliter C.
26. illud B. 34. ex *twice* A. 36. committantur B.

9. *Sophismata* is, I think, here used in a good sense, as a 'clever argument'. In *Logica* Wyclif often says: *Hic dicitur quod sophisma est verum*. 25. Arist. Opera: *κατηγορίαι*, 6. ed. Berlin, 1831, etc. t. 1, p. 4, l. 23.

enim est ipsum corpus panis immaterialis, cum non sit formaliter res immaterialis". Ideo non valet iste fucus sophisticus quo dicitur panem illum esse materialem, sed non esse panem materialem; sicut dicitur fabrum esse bonum, sed non composite bonum fabrum, quia duo accidentia insunt eidem secundum disparem rationem. Aliqui autem logici dicunt probabiliter quod nemo potest esse faber, nisi sub aliquo gradu fuerit bonus faber. Sed quomocunque sit de hoc, certum est ex fide quod sicut corpus Christi est panis, sic est substantia panis materialis. Ut sicut Christus est leo, sic est leo rationalis de tribu Juda. Et sicut equivocantes concedunt quod corpus Christi non est panis materialis, sic debent concedere quod non est panis.

Sed 3^o arguitur de sacramento secundum sui naturam quod sit substantia panis materialis. Nam ipsum per se substat ac cidentibus, habens in se potentiam recipiendi tam formas substantiales quam accidentales, quibus per se subiciatur. Cum igitur hoc sit proprium substantie materiali, sequitur quod hoc sacramentum sit materialis substantia, ut dicit ecclesia. Et hinc Augustinus, attribuens sibi proprietates panis materialis, dicit quod est cibus corporalis et convertitur in hominem comedentem. Jeronimus etiam dicit quod est corpus, ut patet de cons. dis. 2^a ca^o "Dupliciter" et ca^o "De homine". Adversarii etiam dicentes quod est accidens confitentur quod est panis, licet equivoce, quia signum panis; ut septem boves et VII spice dicuntur VII anni, Genes. 41. Cum igitur eque sit signum substantie panis materialis, videtur quod debent concedere consequenter quod est substantia panis materialis. Et illud tractatum est diffuse alibi, quomodo accidens non potest esse sine subiecto; quomodo panis sit corpus Christi, et quomodo doctores recentes debent intelligi, quod sacramentum post consecrationem non remanet pure panis; nec aliud exigit ratio vel auctoritas scripture. In cuius signum omnes consecratores vel sanctificatores accidentis per se nesciunt glosam istam doctorum suorum infringere; sicut nesciunt ad quidditatem

cannot be other than a material bread. To say: That Bread is material, but not material bread, is an evasion: if a carpenter is good he is a good carpenter, for everything is good to some extent. Christ is material bread, in the same way as He is a lion; if not, He is not bread at all.

What can sustain accidents and receive substantial forms is a substance and a body, as Augustine and Jerome call the Sacrament.

Even our adversaries admit that it is bread, as it is the sign of bread; they ought therefore to admit that it is material bread.

But all these questions are dealt with at length elsewhere.

4. est A. 5. est A. 10. Et pro Ut AB. 12. est deest AB.

15. panis fba A. 20, 21. tribuens B. 25. est pro etiam A; hac C; f. fatentur BC. 26. septem — et deest A. 28. sacramentum sub specie A. 34. ali^a C. 37. de quidditate A.

24. Decr. Grat. De Cons., D. II., c. 49, and D. V. c. 9. 27. Alibi. In De Apostasia and many other treatises.

tem sacramenti altaris, quod sentitur sensu extrinseco, evidenter adtingere.

It is strange that they should condemn a doctrine about which they know so little.

The Sacrament is porous; there may be in its pores bread that is not wheat, or a new bread may be produced there after consecration, or crumbs of non-consecrated bread might be mixed with it: in all these cases they would have condemned an evident truth.

The Oxford condemnation was therefore a temptation of Satan.

The cause of all this is that these apostates do not know how to interpret Scripture, according to Augustine's rules.

He says: When any expression is figurative, it must be examined until a good interpretation can be found to it; but it wants no

Et mirabile est quod contempnarent de una re, quam tantum ignorant, quod in ipsa sit substantia panis materialis ut nemo dampnat prudenter hominem quem 5 non noscit, cum ignorat si causa dampnacionis sibi infuerit. Quid igitur scit dampnator talis, cum sacramentum sit porosum, si in poris lateat panis non triticeus? vel si post consecracionem sacramentum generet novum panem? vel si, sacramento iacente inter hostias 10 non consecratas, mice panis intraverint poros eius? In quibus casibus fierit verum quod in sacramento altaris post consecracionem est substantia panis materialis. Ideo melius fuisset his satrapis didicisse quid sit hoc K. sacramentum, antequam condempnassent veritatem ex 15 sibi dubio, quod materialis substantia sit in illo. Ideo Jo. cum introierunt pretorium, et non introierunt in ipsum, XVII ut non contaminarentur, manifeste sequitur quod intro- 28 ierunt ut contaminarentur per condempnacionem fatuam veritatis. Nec parvipendat quisquam instancias istas, ut 20 logicas, quia veritas fidei absconditur sub logica subtilissima in scriptura. Et legentes sentencias ac alii sepe sine dampnacione in Oxonia obtexerant falsitatem. Nimis igitur sathanas temptavit matrem nostram, quando cecavit paucos scripture falsarios ut sub fuco sciencie false simulent 25 sed dampnare quod de facto est veritas a fidelibus acceptanda.

Sed oportet quod in fide de sacramento, sicut in aliis, ab apostatis illudatur ecclesia. Cuius illusionis origo est error sensus scripture. Nam ex hinc multi cecati superbia abierunt retro cum infidelibus, Joh. 6°. Nec Jo. V dignantur attendere ad regulas et dicta sanctorum in 67 ista materia. Scribit enim Augustinus, 3° de doctrina cristiana ca° 15, pro regula cognoscendi locucionem figurativam vel tropicam in scriptura. "Servabitur", inquit, "in locucionibus figurativis regula huiusmodi, ut 35 tamdiu versetur diligenti consideracione quod legitur, donec ad regnum caritatis interpretacio perducatur. Si hoc autem iam proprie sonat, nulla putetur figurativa locucio. Si preceptiva locucio est aut flagicium vel

7, 8. sacramentum *deest* A. 9, 10. vel — panem *deest* C.
21, 22. subtilissima A. 23. *1 exon* A; in *Oxon* C. 32. Augustinus in
marg. A. 33. 5 *pro* 15 C.

34. Aug. De doctrina Christiana. l. III, c. 15 (Migne. Pat.; t. XXXIV, col. 74).

facinus vetans, aut utilitatem vel beneficentiam iubens, non est figurativa. Si autem facinus aut flagicium videtur iubere aut utilitatem et beneficentiam vetare, figurativa est". Et ponit exemplum: *Nisi manducaveritis, non habebitis vitam in vobis*. Facinus igitur vel flagicium videtur iubere; figura igitur est, precipiens passioni domini esse comunicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoria, quod pro nobis caro eius crucifixa et vulnerata sit. Nec dubium quin ista locutio: *hoc est corpus meum, hic est sanguis meus*, demonstratis pane et vino, sit figurativa consimili ratione. Unde precipiens comestionem panis et pocionem vini consecrati, quod prius precipit, statim subiungit ewangelium: *hec quocienscunque feceritis in mei memoriam facietis*. Quasi diceret: Non comedetis vel bibetis corporaliter carnem meam vel sanguinem meum, sed spiritualiter passionem meam memoriter recolendo.

Et sic intelligitur Augustinus, epistola 14 ad Bonifacium, quando dicit quod sacramentum altaris 2^m quemdam modum corpus Cristi est. Non enim scivit vel voluit iste sanctus onerare ecclesiam cum sompniis modo fictis, quod corpus Cristi sit corporaliter et carnaliter in hostia consecrata; sed sicut ewangelium Joh. 6^o dicit *Caro mea vere est cibus, et sanguis meus vere est potus*, sic sacramentum altaris vere, sed figurative, est corpus Cristi vel sanguis: quia, ut Cristus dicit ibidem: *Caro non prodest quidquam*, cum sensus carnalis et modus carnalis corporis Cristi in sacramento foret inutilis atque superfluus; quia tunc indubie homo concederet carnaliter corpus Cristi; non solum quia esus sacramenti foret carnalis, sed quia corpus Cristi foret carnaliter in eodem: quod Augustinus dicit fore flagicium.

Unde deficientibus argumentis quidam prorumpunt in ista ludicria: "Tales", inquit, "qui dicunt istam sententiam et extinguunt devocionem ecclesie, dicentes cum scriptura quod panis et vinum post consecracionem remaneant, tropice celebrant, sed ydemptice damnabuntur". Quo contradicatur quod isti ydiote arguunt:

interpretation if it can bear a literal meaning. If it commands to do any thing good, it is literal: if the contrary, figurative. And as Augustine's example is: *unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man . . .* as a figure, it is clear that *This is my Body*, is a figure too.

Augustine himself is to be thus understood when he says that the Sacrament is in a manner Christ's Body:

truly, but figuratively. "The flesh profiteth nothing"; a fleshly mode of being in the Sacrament would be useless.

Some idiots have said: such as hold these doctrines celebrate figuratively, but will be damned in reality. But they consecrate vain

3. infigurata AB. 6. flacing A. 7. igitur deest C. 9. wln'ata A.
15. facietis AB. 16. et pro vel B. 23. et B. 32. quia AB. 35. et
deest A. 37, 38. dampnabunt A.

13. Ad Bonifacium episcopum. c. Q. (Migne t. XXXIII, col. 364.)
14. *Hec quocienscunque*. These are the words of consecration at Mass, and are not in any Gospel, but adapted from I. Cor. XI, 25.

accidents, and
will be praised
in vain.
Though the
words
expressing
God's anger or
the eating of
His body may
be figures, the
things are real.

Other wild
theories: that
nothing exists
but substance;

that there is
nothing but
substance or
quality, as he
calls it: whence
we should have
to conclude that
the Sacrament,
if consecrated
on Good Friday,
is Friday.

They are so
infatuated that
they believe in
revelations in
support of their
follies.

Yet they cannot
ground their
condemnations
upon Scripture,
and they are
worth nothing.

A second point
condemned
refers to the
corporal
presence of
Christ.

"accidencia sine subiecto efficiunt, et hinc nusquam nisi forte in vacuo propter istam stulticiam laudabuntur". Constat inquam, logicis quod deus vere et realiter irascitur, sicut corpus suum vere et effectualiter manducatur, non tropice; licet locutio qua sensus talis exprimitur sit figurativa vel tropica. Ad tantam enim infatuantur cultores signorum quod credunt omnes proprietates que signis conveniunt suis signatis competere.

Ut ad tantum insanit hec secta, quod unus ponit nichil esse, nisi substantiam; sic quod non sit forma substantie materialis vel accidentalis. Alius autem qui magis furet ista demencia, ponit quod nichil est nisi substantia vel qualitas quam ipse nominat. Et sic debet dicere quod sacramentum altaris sentitum sensu extrinseco vel est substantia vel qualitas sua, aut ex talibus aggregatum; et per consequens cum non sic substantia, sed tempus est, sacramentum altaris est dies veneris pro hoc anno, quia fuit dies veneris per totum diem parasceves; sicut quolibet substantia vel qualitas, que per illud tempus duravit. Alia autem inveniencia ex erroribus istis sequentibus relinquo scolasticis, sciens quod foret studio Oxoniensi utilius et isti secte honorabilius errores istos destruere, quam in ista materia de eucharistia tantum eis incognita laborare. Sed quidam tantum infatuantur mania, quod credunt deum et angelos confirmando complere quidquid, in quo suis mandatis subditis preceperint, firmiter obedire. Sed cras ex eis procul dubio cessabit illa potestas; nec sciunt inpresenciarum ipsam efficaciter stabilire. Ideo excommunicacio, dampnacio vel determinacio eorum non plus valet quam vox graculi, nisi de quanto fuerit fundabilis in scriptura. Sed blasfeme inponendo Cristo falsitatem in sua dampnacione, irrationabilitatem in sua excommunicacione et inferioritatem diabolo in sua determinacione ostendunt se discipulos anticristi. Imponunt enim Cristo deo nostro omnes istas blasfemias, quia in quantum quis in nomine Cristi facit iniuriam, inponit sibi auctoritatem.

Quantum ad secundam dampnacionem quod corpus Cristi non sit corporali presencia in altari, probabile est quod si corpus Cristi vel aliquod sit alicubi, tunc

3, 4. nascitur B.

12. fu'et = fueret A.

deest A; ib. craculi C.

5. nam B; ib. talis quantis sensus A.

20. durat A.

34. qua B.

28. procul deest BC.

39. terciam B.

11. aut A.

31. vox

- corporali presencia et corporaliter est ibidem, ut dicit decretal Johannis 22ⁱ in Clementinis de reliquiis venerabilibus sanctorum ca^o. *Si dominum*. Nam cum secundum Augustinum presens dicitur quasi presto sensui, et
- 5 sensus comuniter dicitur de sensu corporis et sensu intellectus, iuxta illud Rom. 11^o: *Quis cognovit sensum domini, aut quis consiliarius eius fuit?* manifestum est quod res est presens, ubicunque sentita fuerit intellectu, et per consequens ubicunque corpus fuerit, ibi est
- 10 presencia corporali. Sed ex hoc non sequitur quod ubicunque corpus fuerit, ibi est corporaliter, quia, si corpus est alicubi corporaliter, tunc habet ibi unum novum modum essendi qui inest sibi in quantum illud corpus: sicut si corpus sit alicubi presencia, tunc habet
- 15 unum ibi modum essendi, qui inest sibi in quantum ibi presens. Unde presencia corporis Cristi est sibi accidentaliter in sacramento panis. Unde dicitur presencia corporalis, quia est presencia corporis, non quia illud corpus est ibi corporaliter, sed spiritualiter; ut creatura
- 20 dicitur divina, non quia deus, sed quia sanctificata per deum. Et sicut non sequitur *Petrus facit bonum moraliter*; ergo *facit bene moraliter*: ut, posito quod Petrus infidelis prescitus iuvet Platonem predestinatum ad faciendum unum opus virtuosum respectu Pauli: ita
- 25 non sequitur: *corpus Cristi est in sacramento presencia corporali*; igitur *est ibi corporaliter*. Et illi qui habent pro eodem *corporaliter* et *modo corporis*, locuntur in proprie et extense. Unde anticristine procedunt, qui super ista inproprietate fundant dampnationem heresis.
- 30 Primo, inquam, adiscerent hii blasfemi, qui fingunt hereses in alios per comenta mendacii de eukaristia, quid secundum naturam suam sit sacramentum panis, antequam sollicitarentur, quomodo corpus domini sit in illo. Certum, inquam, est quod remanet post benedictionem
- 35 unum per se sentitum quod non est substancialiter corpus Cristi, et illud est sacramentum; sicut patet ex descriptione sacramenti et determinacione ecclesie 30 decretalium de celebracione missarum; "Cum Marthe",

It is clear that Christ is present in the body, not to the bodily but to the spiritual sense.

But it does not follow that he is corporally present: this would entail a new mode of existence in every place where the Host was.

There is a corporal presence since, the Body is present; but spiritually, not corporally. It does not follow that to do good is to do well.

The mistake arises from mixing up two distinct things.

These blasphemers, who themselves invent the heresies they condemn, ought first to ask What the Sacrament is, before they ask how Christ is present therein. It is evident that the thing we see, as

1. tunc et presencialiter est B; et principaliter C. 2, 3, z ven A; reliquiis et Ven' sanc ca^o C. 4. dei pro dicitur A. 5. dei A. 6. fuerit deest C. 13. novum deest BC; aut pro qui A. 14. presencia deest A; presencialiter C. 16. corporis deest C. 23. iubet A. 25. esse B. 28. hic pro qui A. 31. eukaria A; qui B. 37. declaratione B.

such, is not
 identically
 Christ and *is*
 the Sacrament;
what is it?
 I say it is bread
 by nature and
 sacramentally
 Christ's Body.
 There being
 such heresies
 abroad on the
 subject, no alms
 should be given
 to a Friar or
 priest holding
 the wrong
 doctrine; to give
 them any thing
 without due
 questioning
 would possibly
 be to aid a
 wicked disciple
 of Antichrist.

et testantur doctores concorditer, quibus adversarii, ut
 suis auditoribus, innituntur. Illud autem sacramentum
 dico ego cum doctore meo Augustino esse naturaliter
 panem, sed sanctificatum et quodammodo (quia sacra-
 mentaliter) corpus Cristi. 5

Cum igitur circa illud latet in populo tanta infidelitas
 seductiva, cristianus non daret elemosinam fratri sive
 presbitero in hac fide | devio; sed primo quereretur de 79^a
 quiditate istius sacramenti prudenter specificati; et,
 suspecta secta sua, peteret ante comunicacionem in 10
 bonis fortune sub sigillo capitanei sui fidem suam de
 quiditate huius venerabilis sacramenti; quia aliter ex
 sibi dubio foveret infidelem deteriolem pagano ypocrita,
 seducentem populum, plenum discipulum anticristi. Talis
 autem heretici obest celebracio, oracio et predicacio, 15
 sicut irridenda est sua excommunicacio sive dampnacio.
 Sic igitur post introduccionem sectarum fructificavit
 scola fidelium. Dimissis igitur introductis subtilitatibus
 anticristi intendat fidelis fructui fidei scripture.

1. adn'fan' C. 10 patenter A.

CAPITULUM SEPTIMUMDECIMUM.

- A. UNdecimus tortor ecclesie est hostiarius. Et intelligo per hostiarium quemcunque nomine clericum extra sacros ordines, ut clericum parochialem, clericum officiariorum predictorum et quoscunque novicios privati ordinis vel laicos, qui sub nomine clerici indebite vendicant dignitatem. Quamvis enim hostiarius sit superioris status quam abbas vel monachus in quantum talis; ut patet q. 3, dis. 7. "A Subdiacono"; tamen contingit clericos istos multipliciter inferiorari simpliciter monachis in virtute.

The eleventh tormentor of the Church is the *doorkeeper*; a name here used for all Church officials who are not in Holy Orders. Their rank is above Abbots; their conduct often puts them below mere monks.

- Blasfemat autem quicumque clericus qui titulo clericatus capit privilegium dignitatis Cristi, et tamen in vita nomini contradicit; quia ut sic mentitur super Cristo, quod sit de sorte sua, et per consequens quod Cristus auctorizat et vixerat talem vitam. Scopant autem populum clerici parochiales, dimissa Cristi pauperie, dum sumptuose mundi voluptatibus insolescunt. Cum enim sumptus talium non surgunt ex nichilo, non restat finaliter nisi quod spoliatur a populo. Si enim capiunt inordinate a suo curato sive magistro ex hoc quod seducunt parochianos simplices ad dandum rectori oblationes, decimas vel alia que nimis avide concupiscit, manifestum est quod spoliatio temporalium, quibus clericus taliter abutitur, redundat in parochianos illos simplices. Et idem est iudicium de seductione populi in baiulacione aque vel panis benedicti, in ministracione panis post recepcionem sacramenti et in seductione citacionis vel alterius fraudis subdole introducte; et sic utrobique pululat personarum accepcio, et perverso clericorum officio, populi laycalis seduccio, et ut breviter

It is blasphemy to stultify the dignity of a holy title by bad conduct. Offences of parish clerks.

They live in pleasure and derive the money thereto from the people that they spoil; whether directly or indirectly, following the orders of Curates who pay them, they are equally to blame.

1. *Ca^m in red ink A.* 2. *Initial U in red ink A.* 21. *prelato C.*
26. *simpliciter B.*

9. *Decr. Grat., 1^a Pars. D. XCIII, c. 5.*

They must
serve God; but
if they do so
treacherously
they will be
punished with
the people,
whose torpor
has connived at
their misdeeds.

A priest
complained
that the
door-keeper on
Sundays added
common water
to the holy
water he bore,
so that the last
families in the
parish did not
get pure holy
water.
We may not
say that
sprinkling with
holy water is
of no use;
nor that any
small quantity
of a liquid
'sacramental'
can sanctify
any large one:
each part keeps
its own place,
and the
accident
'holiness' does
not pass from
one to the
other: besides,
if so, a
door-keeper
might sanctify
all the water in
the world by

dicatur narrare complete omnes perturbaciones que fiunt
per parochiales clericos difficile est; peccant enim, bona
dei in petulancia consumendo, in fraudulencia sui officii
populum seducendo, et per consequens domino omnium
a quo cuncta bona procederent, in populo proditorie
serviendo. Oportet enim quod deo serviant, velint, nolint;
si proditorie, punientur cum populo permittente, quia
torpor volicionis, que posset corrigere, reputabitur pro
consensu. Sed malicia talis clerici sequitur ad maliciam
prelati, rectoris, atque presbiteri perversi, cum zelans
pro causa dei vel aufugeret vel corriperet subiectum
inutilem.

Unde audiui quendam sacerdotem conqueri de seduc- B.
cione hostiarii, dum diebus dominicis deferendo aquam
benedictam inmiscet sepe aquam non benedictam, et sic
novissima parochie non habent aspersionem aque tota-
liter benedice, et per consequens in spiritualibus dif-
ferenter fraudatus parochia. Non enim phas est dicere
quod aque talis aspersione nichil valet. Nec valet dicere
quod in liquidis sacramentum quantumcunque parvum
sanctificat quantumlibet copulatum, tum quia non co-
extenduntur, sed occupant loca propria, et (secundum
nota philosophis) sanctitas aque, cum sit accidens, non
migrat de subiecto uno in aliud; tum etiam, quia
hostiarius sic proiciendo guttam aque benedice in mare
sanctificaret totum mare; ymmo, cum omnes aque
mediterraneae, paludales, vel fontales communicantur cum
mari per catharactas absconditas, hostiarius posset faci-
liter sanctificare omnes aquas mundi, et cum aqua non
debeat iterum consecrari, olim cessarent aquarum con-
secraciones ministerio sacerdotis. Nec valet dicere quod
spiritualiter generatur nova sanctitas, ut contingit de
luce, tum quia per idem sic foret de sanctificandi con-

2. est narrare *omnes* MSS. 8. colligere A. 9. Sic B. 14-16. de-
ferendo aqua benedictam nō bñdcoj3 et sic novissimam inmisceret sepe
aquam C. 26. aque *deest* A. 27. contaminatur A. 30. cessarent AC.

22. Wiclif, as in seen in his philosophical treatises, especially
in *Logica*, admitted the doctrine of atoms. Each atom of the
holy water remained sanctified, but did not sanctify that which
was not. I understand that the common belief is that any amount
of ordinary water added, if less than the quantity of holy water
to which it is added, becomes holy itself; if *more*, there is no
longer any holy water. This theory is of course exposed to
many difficulties.

stantibus, ut pane, palmis, igne, cera, tymiamate, cereo, petra, fructibus et aliis sanctificatis comuniter; tum etiam, quia liceret exorciste, hostiario vel layco cui-
 5 cunque benedicere vel sacrare cuncta huiusmodi, quia deferre ipsa ad loca, in quibus multiplicarent sibi similia in subiecto capaci. In quo casu, sicut deferens candelam ad locum tenebrosum ipsum illuminat, sic videtur quod applicans instrumentum multiplicandis sic consecratis instrumentaliter sic consecraret. Et patet ficticia. Sicut
 10 enim hostiarius facit novam aquam, sic consecrat ipsam aquam, ipsa a sui initio consecrata; quia aliter solus deus consecraret, et non presbiter vel minister.

pouring in one drop of holy water: nor that juxtaposition occasions a new entity of holiness to come forth, as when a candle lights up the darkness; for then everything could thus be blessed.

Relictis igitur obiectionibus contra responsiones fictas, videtur quod sicut in primitiva ecclesia habuerunt
 79^b 15 Cristi discipuli potestatem faciendi miracula, sic habuerunt potestatem corpora tam rationabilia quam irrationalia consecrandi. Nam Marc. ultimo scribitur. *Signa autem eos qui crediderint hec sequentur: In nomine meo demonia eicient* etc. Cum igitur in corporibus tam
 20 animatis quam inanimatis latent demonia, ut patet de legione demonum missa in porcos, Marc. 5^o et in aere et in aliis corporibus, ubi magis nocent homini, est notorium hos latere; ewangelium autem igitur permittens, nedum sacerdotibus, sed generaliter in Cristum
 25 credentibus, potestatem et effectum eiciendi demonia, dat fidem quod sic possunt in Cristum credentes, cum potestas domini inextingwibilis perpetuo sit parata

Wyclif's theory of sacramentals. Christ's disciples had the power to cast out devils and work miracles; and as devils lie hid in animals and other things (which is a well-known fact) the Gospel ascribes the power of casting them out to all who believe in Christ.

C. Credo tamen quod sufficerent de clero, sicut fuit tempore apostoli, diaconus et sacerdos, Nam habundantius onus ecclesie est infundabile; nisi quia sic placet
 30 satrapis, et, ut fingitur, ad honorem et usum ecclesie prodest multum. Ille igitur qui habet potestatem purgandi corpus a demonio, habet etiam potestatem consecrandi, sive per eos deus det novam virtutem, sive
 35 amovendo prohibens resuscitet antiquam.

But the two orders of priests and deacons were sufficient; the others have been only a burden to the Church.

Sed sicut multi, etiam sacerdotes, in fide deficient, sic credibile est quod deficient in ministrando sacramenta et sacramentalia; non solum quo ad modum virtuosus ministerii, sed in penam peccati sui et populi
 40 desunt crebrius quo ad substantiam sacramenti, quia

Whosoever can cast devils out of anything, has therefore the power to bless it. But as the faith of many fails, we may believe that some priests have not this power — not

1. et cera A: *ib.* cero *pro* cereo AB. 12. cosecraret C. 13. obiectibus A. 18. sequenter A. 21. Marc. *deest*; blank space B. 27. potestates A. 29. Non C.

affirming this
without a
special
revelation, but
fearing and
suspecting them
— if we see that
they do not
follow Christ's
law.

We cannot
suppose without
blasphemy that
God would
give such
power to such
a man. If a
king knew
beforehand
that such a one
would be a
traitor, would
he not be
foolish if he
trusted his
power to him?
A priest who
sometimes
does wrong
abuses his
power: one who
continually
does wrong
does not, for he
has no power.
And the best
proof that he
has none is to
be proud of
it, to whatever
station of the
priesthood he
may belong.

We must
believe our
senses for
things of the
senses; and as
for things
beyond the
senses, we
should judge
according to
works.

Thus,
sometimes the
priest blesses
the water

non sunt illi quibus deus concessit huiusmodi potestatem. Et licet nemo debet presumere de quoquam sine revelacione hoc credere, sic nec sacerdoti ut perfidiam illud discredere, sed timere. Ad quod capitur evidenciam probabilis fortem suspicionem generans, si clericus vel prelatus non servat legem Cristi suo officio limitatam. Tunc enim indicat quod deus, sciens omnia preterita et futura, non ponit eum in tali officio, quod scit quod in penam peccati ipsum impossibilitat adimplere. Unde videtur blasfemia quod deus det sacerdoti huiusmodi potestatem. Si enim rex presciret clare quod quis sit proditor regni sui, et super illam scienciam daret sibi potestatem plenam ad talia gubernacula talis regni, nonne iudicaretur quod rex talis foret improvidus? Sic igitur affirmans talem pseudo-officiarium habere potestatem tantam, cum non possit illam habere, nisi adeo implicat blasfemie quod deus, omnium conditor, sit imprudens. Ille igitur, qui ante et post recte supplebit officium et interim ad horam errat in ministerio, abutitur sua potestate. Ille autem, qui perpetuo non facit recte tale officium, non abutitur potestate, nisi forte pretenso vel communi, quia non habet potestatem talem specificam, licet pompaverit se habere. Unde evidenciam fortis est, quod prelatus errat expers potestatis huiusmodi; si pompaverit (sive papa, sive cardinalis, sive episcopus arrogans et pompans) si segnis in humili Cristi officio; frustra quo ad scolam Cristi huiusmodi potestatem. Periculosum itaque foret hominem vindicare novitatem potestatis, sicut spissim fit in materia de eukaristia, vel antiquam potestatem sine correspondencia operis asserere se habere. Deus enim ordinavit quod operibus, que hinc ordinavit sensibilia debemus credere, et potestatem, quam ordinavit insensibilem et nobis absconditam ex operibus de levi debemus supponere. Modo autem eversivi scola anticristi, dimissis operibus, contendit circa magnitudinem potestatis. Nec dubium quin innaturalis scole eversio originatur a rege superbie.

Redeundo igitur ad propositum, conceditur quod in casu sacerdos rite benedicit pani, aque, oleo et si-

5. supposicionem C. 10. modi *deest* A. 11. sit continue B.
14. nomine A. 17. proditor B. 22. pretensa B. 24. erret C; *ib.* et
pars A; ex parte C. 25. si *pro* sive *before* papa AB. 27, 28. huius-
modi potestate *pro* officio — potestatem B. 29. sit *omnes* MSS.
30. antiqua A. 31, 32. quod operibus *deest* C. 32. hic A. 35. om̃i A;
eversi B.

milibus altero dictorum modorum vel utroque, et clericus in casu rite ministrat hec populo; et sepe contingit fieri errorem in utroque. Concedunt enim quod aqua benedicta est infinitum melior non benedicta; ymmo
 5 infinitum melior vino quantolibet non sacrato; et tamen negligencia qua tractant ipsam dat populo fidem quod false illudunt laycis, credentes contrarium. Excessus, inquam, quo aqua benedicta excedit non benedictam, cum aliquantum facit ad eius melioracionem, et in nulla por-
 10 porcione racionabili, non restat nisi quod sit infinitum melior. Et per idem videtur quod predia mortificata et consecrata ecclesie, dum fiunt Cristi patrimonium, infinitum meliorarentur, et sic regnum. Sanctitas autem superaddita, que non est racionaliter numismati com-
 15 parabilis, videtur infinitum melior quam dispositio corporalis. Sed videtur quod bona talia et regna sint inde potius peiorata, quia ordinacioni dei ut sic contraria. Ideo videtur quod anticristus mendaciter blasfemat in potestate diabolica contra Cristum, quia ordinacioni
 20 Cristi repugnat, et false vendicat potenciam, quam non fundat in Cristo. In cuius signum res | sic sacrate crebrius et vilius emuntur ab anticristi discipulis quam alia non sacrata. Ideo videtur quod scola sua sit contraria sibi
 25 ipsi, cum symoniace blasfemat implicite quod deus malus et non dominus facit ista. Talia itaque que lucrum non sapiunt, licet rite sanctificata fuerint, sunt hodie parvipensa. Sed alia, quorum sanctificacio est infundabilis, sunt simulacione falsa ab yppocritis comendata.

Clericus igitur baiulus aque benedice debet reverenter
 30 ipsam spargere, et non nimis crebro aquam extraneam comiscere; quandoque tamen deus sanctificat nobis incognite. Et cum talis sanctitas sit nobis inutilis, nisi de quanto ordinatur ad sanctitatem mentis, debet moderate postponi, ut cerimonia, quo ad ipsam. Ne-
 35 cesse quidem est uti cerimoniais, quamdiu est religio viatorum imperfecta. Sed totum periculum est in preponderancia sua ultra per se finem talis ceremonie magis bonum; ut si sanctitas mentis honoretur eque bene vel melius sine usu talium consecratorum, religiosum foret
 40 ipsa dimittere. Sic enim dimittentur in patria, sicut

and the door-keeper distributes it rightly; sometimes not. Holy water is infinitely better than any other, even than non-consecrated wine; yet it is treated with much neglect.

Lands consecrated to the Church should also be infinitely better; but in fact they are worse, as opposed to God's ordinance; Antichrist falsely claims to consecrate them, for the sake of lucre.

The door-keeper should sprinkle the holy water with reverence and not add water to it too frequently. We should not set this 'blessedness' of the water too much in the foreground: it is only for our use. Ceremonies are necessary here below; but there is danger

4. est — benedicta deest C. 10. fit A. 13. enim B. 14, 15. numismati corporalis AB; numismati C. 16. mihi A. 28. gmedatt A. 29. autem B. 36. est deest A; ib. in deest B. 37. sentencie AB. 38. haberetur AC.

in making too much of them. We must keep aloof from two excesses: contempt of these rites and an exaggerated esteem for them:

i. e. as in private religions &c. a greater esteem for them than for their end.

These blessings, not indeed necessary to salvation, are yet better than the Friars' observances.

As for the mixing of consecrated with unconsecrated oil, it is a still more serious matter, since such consecration, reserved to Bishops only, is made at great expense, and is the object of Canon law;

yet it often happens that the oil of Baptism or Confirmation is so mixed that it is no longer consecrated. In all this we have to consider our spiritual profit, caring little for the rites in themselves.

privata religio. Utrobique enim est nimietas ponderantie et ritus despectio contempnenda. Et omnino prima pars, ut patet ex religionibus privatis; et adinventiones humanas studentibus, et nimis onerantibus simplices, cum illa appreciantur amplius quam finem eorum. Sed di-
missio aliquorum que lucrum non sapiunt, ut fructuum, carni-
um et p̄re cum baculo, et eis similibus, docet quod omnia ista, habitis suis finibus, sunt preter-
necessaria ad salutem. Omnia tamen ista ex antiquitate et racione sunt evidenciora quam ritus vel ordines
mendicantium super ewangelium introducti.

In comixcione autem olei non consecrati cum con- E.
secrato est maior fallacia anticristi. Primo, quia res censetur ex maiori solempnitate sacramenti solum sanctificationi episcopi deputata; ideo eius negligencia
est amplius ponderanda. 2^o, quia episcopus, cui sine racione sed ob superbam preeminenciam deputatur hec consecratio, debet 2^m largas expensas sibi deputatas a regnis de fabrice sue ministerio, cum undiquaque iacet maius periculum, solicius provideri. Et 3^o, quia leges
limitant periodum in novacionem olei consecrati, ut patet de consecr. dist. 1^a "Si quis de alio crismate quam de illo novo quod proprii episcopi largicione acceperit, baptizare aliquem, nisi preoccupante morte, temptaverit, pro temeritatis ausu ipse in se proprie dampnationis
protulisse sentenciam manifestatur. Non sic autem de aqua benedicta". Nec dubium, quin tanta vel maior sit racio, quia contingit oleum non consecratum oleo consecrato adeo comisceri, quod baptisetur vel confirmetur
fidelis omnino oleo non consecrato, in quo stabilito
sacramento iacet magnum periculum. In omnibus autem istis, eciam usque ad sacramenta, attendendum est ad fructus, si habeantur facilius, fertilius et ecclesie primitive similibus sine talibus signis, quam elaboracione eorum; et est secure ab eis in suis fructibus quies-

14. sciencie C. 19. 20. cum — solicius deest C. 23. de deest C; ib. acceperis A. 27. est A. 30. fidelis deest B; ib. sacro C. 31. in quo iacet B; iaceret C. 34. cum B; sive C; ib. ex celebracione A.

12. The *Rituale Romanum* (edit. 1750) says: Curet Parochus ut ea (sc. olea) suo tempore quam primum habeat, et tunc vetera in Ecclesia comburatur. . . Veteribus oleis nisi necessitas cogat ultra annum non utatur; ac si deficere videantur, et chrisma aut oleum benedictum haberi non posset, aliud oleum de olivis non benedictum adjiciatur, sed in minori quantitate. 22. Decr. Grat. De Cons., D. IV., c. 122.

cendum, et contempto satrape precepto, in lege domini confidendum.

Sed quo ad secundam maneriem clericorum extra-ordinariorum, notandum quod sunt nimis multiplices, cum pene tot sunt officia huiusmodi clericorum, quot sunt officia virilia et pacifica in domibus vel officiis regum et secularium dominorum: ut in officiis regum sunt cancellarii, thesaurarii, clerici de secreto et privato sigillo, clerici de parvo bag: ergo et infinita que non expedit iam narrare. Et cum secularibus dominis sunt clerici de coquina, cum eis similibus. Ymmo oportet vicecomitem et iusticiarium, senescalum vel ballivum, habere clericum servientem. Nec dubium quin tota ista maneries clericorum magis a ratione clerici degenerat, quam parochialis clericus in quantum talis. Et iterum certum est quod regna que sic monstruose transferunt officia clericorum, ut sic, parturiunt dissensiones, derisiones, et multa bella regnis: que vel paulative vel subito oportet prorumpere, quia oportet quod ordinationi divine contrarius convincatur. Nec capit excusacionem ista proditoria ministrorum domus dei subversio, cum nedum ordinationi divine inponitur blasfeme stulticia, sed in domo dei sive ecclesia, matre nostra, emergunt latenter multa facinora; et specialiter, dum clerici infra sacros ordines et curati occupantur circa secularia. De aliis autem vocatis clericis extra hunc statum, cum licet eis coniugari ut laicis, non contendo.

Unde leges ecclesie ex auctoritate scripture dampnant hunc modum, ut 21 qu. 3 ca^o *Modo*, canon sic loquitur: "Apostolorum statuta sunt que dicunt: *Nemo militans deo implicat se negociis secularibus*. Proinde aut clerici sint sine actoribus domorum, aut actores sine officio clericorum." Et sequitur: | "Clerici non nisi altari et sacrificiis deservire et precibus atque oracionibus vacare debent." Et allegat ut supra, illud 1^a thymo. 2^o: *Nemo militans deo implicat se negociis secularibus, ut ei placeat, cui se probavit*. Item 3^o decretalium in fine, quando magis claudicavit religio cristiana, sic scribitur in nomine pape Eugenii: "Sacerdotibus et clericis tuis

A second point against the inferior clergy is their too great number; they are to be found in the king's court and in all great houses, occupying every function: chancellors, treasurers, clerks of the Privy Seal and Petty Bag &c., even clerk of the kitchen; and every great officer has a clerk to serve him. This is very wrong,

and quite inexcusable,

at least as concerns such 'clerks' as really belong to the clergy. It is forbidden by several canons.

Let clerks have no domestic offices, or let the officers of the household not be clerks. "Their business is at the Altar, and with prayer".

"They must be publicly forbidden to

1, 2, et — confidendum *deest* A. 7, 8, ut — sunt *deest* C. 9, baggo A; bag'go C. 12, et senescallum B. 13, clicum C. 14, a *deest* C. 18, que *twice* C. 24, 25, occupant A. 30, curis A; *ib.* autem A. 32, Nota quod clerici non debent dominis temporalibus secularibus ministrare *at top of page* B. 34, 2 B. 37, quin A.

28, Decr. Grat. 2^a Pars., Ca XXI, qu. 34, c. 2 and 4. 38, Decr. Greg., l. III, tit. 50, cap. 2.

deal with
money matters;
if they do, and
are taken in
fraud, the
Church must
not help them".

It is clear from
these laws that
no good
Christian
should give a
clerk any
secular
employment.

To act
otherwise is
blindly to
dishonour the
Church, our
mother.

Sophisms by
which this
custom is
defended.
1. "It favours
the prosperity
of the
kingdom".

But it is
contrary to
Scripture.

2. "The
laws forbidding
it are
obsolete."
But Christ's
law is eternal,
and cannot
become
obsolete.
The antiquity
of an abuse
proves nothing
in its favour.
3. "Kings have
the right to
promote whom
they will of

denuncies publice, ne ministri laycorum fiant, nec in
rebus eorum procuratores existant. Quod si postmodum
facere presumant, et occasione ipsius administracionis
propter peccuniarum causam deprehendantur in fraude,
indignum est eis ab ecclesia subveniri, per quos constat 5
in ecclesia scandalum generari." Ex istis benedictis
legibus elaboratis ex fide scripture, patet quod qui-
cunque secularis dominus qui diligit matrem ecclesiam
debet ministros eius servare honorifice in illo mini-
sterio quod dominus eis limitavit. Si enim sacerdotes 10
occupat in seculari officio ob spem promocionis sy-
moniacę, ut sic vivant secularius et dicitur quo ad
mundum, nullus scelestius vel turpius inficit matrem
suam. Et sic, ex cecitate qua honorando putat ecclesie
in illis benefacere, sumptuose dampnificat se et illos, 15
cum secundum legem dei, Exo. 20, *Qui non honorat* Exod.
matrem carnalem et magis spiritualem, carebit longevi- XX, 12
tate et prosperitate *super terram*, quia vite passivo prin-
cipio contradicit. Diabolus itaque cum bonis temporali-
bus minimis excecet carnales, faciendo eos credere de 20
umbris quod sint luces contrarie legi Cristi.

2º notaret fidelis fallaciam argucie anticristi, qua G.
ex antiquitate vendicatur tales cleri oppressiones con-
petere regie maiestati. "Bene", inquit, "et prospere
stetit cum regno, quando fuit per clerum taliter mini- 25
stratum." In isto oportet, contra anticristi perfidiam,
fidem scripture et leges ecclesie ex illa collatas sup-
ponere. Et patet ex ewangelio, quod esse *in domibus* Matth.
regum et vestiri mollibus propter gubernacionem vel XI, 9
dominacionem secularem familie est contrarium clero 30
Cristi, cum hoc venenum fugerunt Cristus et sui apostoli
cum Baptista. Nec valet dicere quod oportet legem
istam mutari; quia est lex Cristi eterna, cui non est
superior successura. Sed maior videtur nunc necessitas,
propter maioritatem periculi, quod diligentius observe- 35
tur. Nec excusat antiquitas, cum nequicia diaboli sit
longe antiquior, et potestas sua de qua superbit sit
potestate regis superior. Ideo oportet videre, super anti-
quitatem, licenciam in speculo scripturarum. 3º monen-
tur reges quod licet eis hec facere, quia licet eis legios 40
et promotos suos ad tam necessarium officium deputare.

4. fraudem C. 11. occupant A. 13. modum A. 17, 18. lon-
ganimitate B. 18. passio B. 20. nimis A. 30. contrarium deest A.
31. fig'am't C. 37. scribit A.

Sed constat quod repugnat cuicunque domino abuti
 possesso, sicut repugnat cuicunque subdito subtrahere
 ordinationem vel servicium domini capitalis. Deus autem
 est dominus capitalis cuiuscunque creature. Ideo in omni
 5 exactione regis quo ad servicium clericorum debet ex-
 cipi servicium debitum illi domino capitali. Ymmo,
 supposito quod talis apostota consentiret vel affectaret
 sic monstruose secularibus dominis deservire, illi domini
 detestarentur eos tamquam inutiles et proditores dei et
 10 hominum; nec plus acceptarent eorum servicium quam
 demonum, cum acceptando involverent se infidelitatis
 periculo apud deum, et inficerent se proditorio servicio
 per talem clericum. Ideo, idem esset regalias regum
 illud exigere, et, blasphemando se esse superiores domino,
 15 inficere se et regnum. Et patet quod promocio sym-
 moniaci parturit talia magis mala; quia in hoc con-
 ducitur, ut sit proditor deo suo.

Nec sunt evidencie diaboli digne memoria. Dicit enim
 quod stat clericum facere utrumque servicium: sed illi
 20 clerici non sunt apciores quam erant apostoli. Ipsi enim
 non sufferunt, sine peccato omissionis, pure servire do-
 mino Jesu Cristo. Quomodo igitur serviret sibi inculpa-
 biliter talis derisus homuncio? Nonne dicit apostolus
 negativam: *nemo militans deo implicat se negociis se-*
 25 *cularibus?* Sed ubi est maior implicacio, quam sic
 assidua et obligatoria et mundana ministracio? Alienacio
 quidem a Cristi servicio que in omni genere cleri cor-
 30 ruit, est implicacionis secularis testificacio. Secularis
 autem non, ut sic, militat deo, sed forte venialiter
 servit mundo. Laxent itaque clerici sic pompantes suam
 magnam operationem in piscacione hominum 2^m recia
 sancti Petri. Sed ille *relictis omnibus ante hec secutus*
 Luc. *est dominum Jesum Cristum, ut patet Lu. 5.* Si igitur
 V, 11 *seculare servicium sit regi necessarium, compleatur per*
 35 *secularem ad illud ydoneum, et differatur divinum ser-*
viciu. Si autem curatus servit regibus, serviat pure
clericale servicium sive consilium; et resignet, vel per
alium preordinet, curatoris officium. Et sic, si anti-
cristus fingit nullum alium sufficere ad occupandum
 40 *seculare regis officium, degradetur vel fiat laicus, per-*

their subjects
 to such
 necessary
 offices".
 But kings may
 not abuse their
 rights to take
 away from
 those of the
 King of Kings.
 A man willing
 to be thus
 promoted would
 be a traitor
 to God and
 man, whose
 service should
 be no more
 accepted than
 those of devils.

The arguments
 in favour of
 this custom are
 very weak. It is
 false that both
 services can be
 properly
 performed: the
 Apostles
 themselves were
 not equal to
 the task.
 As a fact,
 Christ's service
 is abandoned
 when the clergy
 has to serve the
 world.

Let them not
 boast of being
 fishers of men:
 Peter left all to
 follow Christ.
 Seculars should
 perform secular
 duties.

If a curate
 serves the king,
 let him do
 simply clerk's
 service; and
 let him give up
 his curacy,
 and become a
 layman.

4. capitalis *deest* B. 11. ut C. 13. regalis A. 14. inferiores B.
 15. quomodo C. 19. constat C. 20. essent B. 26. et *before* mundana
deest B. 27. quod *omnes* MSS. 27, 28. cernit A. 33. cum A.
 35. deseratur A. 36. servit *omnes* MSS.

He must, to
keep his
clerical
privilege, refuse
secular work.

It is said that
the king cannot
afford to pay
his servants,
unless by giving
them
benefices.
But it is
precisely the
edowment of
the clergy that
causes all the
difficulty.

It is indeed the
ruin of the
State or the
ruin of the
Church: the
clergy must
either not exist,
or serve the
king rather
than God: both
are
blasphemous
conclusions.
They say that
temporal lords
might spend
less: which is
true, but still
more true of
them.
At any rate,
Christ did not
condemn the
sumptuous
living of
seculars.

A defender of
the rights of
the poor might
say: These
people are most
wretched: and
this is the fault
either of the
clergy or of the
secular powers;
by their avarice
and prodigality.

dendo clericale privilegium. Vel si wult ipsum | servare, 81-
abneget impossibile seculare servitium, sicut oportet
iuxta legem predictam. Nam curator domorum vel
ductor secularis negocii aut dimittet, aut confundet
alterum, vel utrumque. 5

Sed obicitur quod ita extraneata sunt terre dominia,
ut regaliis repugnet habere clericos necessarios servi-
tores, nisi de beneficiis quibus dotatur ecclesia, fiat
beneficii recompensa. Sed maledictum illud insane dia-
boli incitamentum, quo inducitur tantum inconveniens 10
utrobique! Nam idem est ac si inferatur ex dotacione
ecclesie venenosa quod ipsa non staret nisi vel destructi
forent principes seculares; vel verificaretur principium
patris mendacii: quod clericus sit non clericus; vel
quod regi seculari debet servire, deo postposito. Sed 15
cum utrumque posteriorum sit notum blasphemum in-
conveniens implicare, necessitati sunt asserentes hoc
antecedens, quod dotacio predicta ecclesie antecederet
necessitat ad destruccionem secularium dominorum,
quod licet sit eis verum incognitum, tamen tam pos- 20
sessionati quam fratres educati in veneno fugiunt veram
medicinam salutiferam, ut venenum. Palliant enim quod
seculares domini possent vivere vitam pauperiorem, et
sic de bonis dei minus expendere: quod licet sit verum,
tamen in ipsis caperet sua *de inesse* verificacionem 25
rationi plus congruam; cum Cristus et apostoli cum
aliis religiosis ipsos de propinquiori sequentibus vixerunt
valde parce et nullis secularibus onerose; seculares autem
tacendo (quod equivalet consensui) permisit Cristus vi-
vere seculariter sumptuose. 30

Ideo procurator pauperum communitatum sic pro I.
illis argueret: "Dicti vulgares ex defectu bonorum tem-
poralium miserabiliter et differenter vexantur inopia;
quod non esset, nisi comunitas predicta proportionaliter
peccaret, vel clerus aut seculare brachium ipsa avare 35
consumeret; cum deus non potest providendo de illis
bonis deficere. Cum igitur notum sit, quod in istis
duabus filiis sanguisuge sit maius peccatum, tam avare
retinendo hec bona, quam prodigaliter consumendo in
altera istarum parcium vel in utraque, restat correctio 40

4. vel *pro* aut *before* confundet C. 13. fuerint C. 15. fregi A.
20. cum C. 22. Paliatum A. 35. quare B.

25. *Sua*. Probably *propositio* is understood.

huius iniurie. Sed cum notum sit quod huiusmodi defectus stat magis in clero, tota ecclesia debet correccióni isti intendere. Ex parte autem brachii secularis, patet quod ipsum habet precipuum interesse. Nam omnia
 5 illa temporalia dominia que clerus occupat, debent alteri brachio pertinere; et suum est bona sua requirere, tum, quia dedit illis deus potestatem coactivam ad talia requirendum, tum etiam quia talium excommunicatorum ministerium inficit ecclesiam, et specia-
 10 liter ex consensu. Unde, quia scola diaboli est ordo nimis preposterus severe invadere alia regna, ad que vix habemus scintillam iuris, et in facie nostra permittere anticristum sacrilege consumere bona nostra: non dubium quin diabolus sic cecat et vecordat ec-
 15 clesiam."

Item constat ex fide, quod Cristus sic ordinavit clerum suum totum vivere vitam pauperem expropriarie, et illa ordinatio plurimum est eversa, clero occupante dominia que ex dei ordinatione debent adiacere brachio
 20 seculari. Igitur reges, qui secundum Augustinum sunt dei vicarii, debent rectificare dei iniuriam. Et hinc dicit Augustinus, ut recitatur 15 q. 4^a ca^o *Quicumque*, quod beatus Aurelius debuit iure poli restituere cuidam layco redditus, quos dedit ecclesie sue. Nec dubium
 25 quin eadem est ratio de omnibus possessionatis clericis; et sic excommunicative et sacrilege detinent aliena. Quantum ad assumptum, patet quod pusillus grex apostolorum secundum formam quam Cristus instituit, debuit esse exemplar et origo totius posterioris ecclesie cristi-
 30 ane; sed Cristus eos instituit instar sui in summa pauperie. Ideo superiores de clero debent sic vivere. Unde Cristus non aptavit eis officium quod requireret expensas alias seculares, sed licet omnis cristianus debet ex fide usque ad mortem defendere istam sententiam
 35 cum sequentibus, tamen tanta est anticristi perfidia quod post lapsum cesareum quo diabolice sunt dotati, ista fides cum suis sequentibus contempnitur vel gloriatur. In tantum quod maior infidelitas regnat inter nos nomine cristianos quam inter sectas paganicas,
 40 quas maxime detestamur. Ipsi enim fatentur Cristum K. fuisse prophetam eximium, sed non deum. Sed quan-

The clergy being most to blame, the whole Church must remedy this;

and chiefly the secular powers, to whom all ecclesiastical possessions belong by right, and who possess the might to coerce the clergy. It is blindness to invade kingdoms to which we have very little right, and to suffer Antichrist thus to devour us at home.

Our faith teaches that the clergy ought to live without possessions;

and kings, vicars of God, should redress this wrong.

The case quoted by Augustine is that of the whole clergy: they ought to make restitution. Christ's

Apostles were the pattern of the clergy;

so the latter should live in poverty, like the former. Every Christian

should uphold this belief, even unto death; yet, worse than

Mahometans who deny Christ's divinity, but follow many of his laws,

6, 7. relinquere B. 7. tamen A. 8. tamen A. 16. sic deest BD.
 22. 17 BC. 23. Dei B. 26. excommunicate C; ib. tenet A; ib.
 arenam A. 36. quod A. 39. nos deest C.

we assert his
divinity, but
refuse to obey
him,

following
neither his
example nor his
precepts.
And the Friars,
whose
profession of
poverty should
have made
them the
foremost to
defend this, are
backsliders,
and do all they
can to uphold
the other side.

But notwith-
standing the
devil, it is clear
that
ecclesiastical
possessions, in
so far as they
go beyond what
is necessary, is
mere spoliation
of the poor.
They are but
ministers to the
wants of the
poor, who have
a right to be
helped by
them; and as
they fail in
in this duty,
the secular
lords should
do theirs.
For these
possessions
belong to them;
and it is
strange that
they should
grind the poor
when their
own treasury is
in the devil's
hands.

They seize
upon crumbs
and leave the
whole loaf
untouched.

tum ad multas leges suas ipsi credunt ipsas nobis per-
fectius et observant. Nos, inquam, voce dicimus Cristum
esse deum et hominem, sed vitam suam in facto sper-
nimus, et maiorem partem legis sue tanquam falsam
et irrationabilem denegamus; sic quod tollerabilior 5
foret blasfemia negare deitatem Cristi et servare eius
mandata et consilia, ut pagani. Nos, inquam, dupli-
cantes mendacia plus opere blasphemamus; quia nec
volumus defendere vitam Cristi, nec verba. In tantum
quod fratres, quorum professio | atque perfectio foret 10
excellenter defendere Cristi pauperiem callidius, tanquam
sophiste diaboli retrocedunt. Licet autem constat ex
fide scripture et sensu quod per declinationem cleri
ad seculum religio Cristi et fides subvertitur, tamen
tam fratres quam possessionati diligenter laborant quo 15
possent in terrenis seculares dirripere, et partem suam
per terrores diaboli et blasphemam yppocrisim confir-
mare. Sed pars Cristi invito diabolo magis claret quam
totum quod clerus occupat preter necessarium ad sui
ministerium; et hoc ex titulo elemosine secularium est 20
iniustum, et per consequens iniuste occupant predia
temporalia preter necessaria popularibus oppressis in-
opia.

Item, quecunque temporalia que clerus possiderit,
sunt bona pauperum, ut hic suppono. Sed de omnibus 25
bonis pauperum debent esse indifferentes ministri et
fideles dantes prout unicuique opus erat; ergo de omni-
bus bonis cleri debet esse participio; et per consequens,
pauperibus de populo magis egentibus, debet illis de
ipsis bonis comunibus cleri distribui. Cum igitur clerus 30
in hoc deficit, restat quod domini seculares debent
distribucionem huiusmodi ordinare. Ipsorum enim sunt
elemosine, ipsas debent dominacionis titulo gubernare,
et clerum occupantem ista sic sacrilege de alienis, in-
consulto anticristo, precipue spoliare. Quis igitur spiri- 35
tus moveret homines seculares sic rapere pauperes et
egenos, dum thesaurus suus iacet in manu diaboli?
Quem thesaurum debent secundum legem domini ordi-
nare. Idem videtur ac si sathan, religioni Cristi ad-
versans, buccellas edentis diriperet, et pastum integrum 40

7, 8. duplices A. 15. cum pro tam omnes MSS. 27. cuicunque B;
cuique C; ib. igitur C. 28. cleri deest A. 31. temporales B. 34. sit A.
35, 36. spiritus deest A; sanctus AB. 36. mon'et A. 37. aurarius C.
39. Ideo B.

quem facilius capere posset, dimitteret; deus indubie
 I. requireret ab illis rationem credite potestatis. Nec
 dubium quin ista sit causa quare tot dissensiones et
 murmura sunt in regnis; tum, quia in illa mamona
 5 comunitas ex particione iniqua comuniter magis peccat,
 ideo ratio exigit quod in illa comunius puniatur; tum
 etiam quia ab exemplacione cleri circa illam magis
 profunde afficitur. Ideo necesse est quod pugne, lites,
 contenciones et conversancium discordie sint comunius
 10 circa illam. Si enim clerus prepossessionatus regni
 nostri preposuisset hoc anno pedagium regi pro populo,
 quid necesse fuisset populum contra dominos tam in-
 debite surexisse? Nec dubium quin nulla tercia ecclesie
 immunis sit: comunitas, quia indebite et inpacienter
 15 homines omnis generis punierunt; et domini, quia bona
 pauperum inprovidie receperunt; et omnino clerus, tum
 quia pauperes de populo corporali subsidio non iuverunt,
 tum etiam, quia nec vulgares regum obedienciam do-
 cuerunt. Si enim episcopi et rectores etiam medietatem
 20 sui superflui ad illud dedissent laicis, tunc cum paribus
 totum illud dispendium precavissent. Et revera, ille cui
 sunt stercora temporalium cariora tanto bono pacis
 provincie proditorie occupat ipsa bona, et ille frater
 qui non vult docere populum quomodo de lege Cristi
 25 obediret dominis, ut patet de Cristo et suis apostolis.
 Cuius ratio videtur, quia non infert lucrum fratribus
 de vulgaribus, quos taliter hortarentur. Ille, inquam,
 frater modicum aut nichil hortaretur dominos tem-
 porales ad misericordiam super vulgus vel ipsum ad
 30 obedienter petendum misericordiam et serviendum do-
 minis, sicut fecit apostolus. Et ratione est quod pre-
 diligunt de ambobus contrariis plus bona sua tempo-
 ralia quam salvacionem et pacem mutuam, vel alia
 spiritualia bona dei. Et ideo sunt duplices et vecordes
 35 cum istis partibus, cum pars diaboli, que viam dei non
 graditur, sit perplexa.

Remedium igitur theoricum, si placeret deo ipsum
 per seculares homines roborari, foret ad stabilimentum
 sempiternae concordie et pacis ecclesie, quod defendant

No wonder
 that there are
 dissensions
 for the
 community
 shares both in
 the sin and in
 the punishment;
 and it is affected
 by the ill
 example of the
 clergy.
 If this year
 the rich clergy
 had paid the tax
 for the poor,
 they would have
 had no need to
 revolt.

All classes were
 to blame here;
 the commons,
 for having
 acted wrongly;
 the nobles for
 having
 oppressed
 them; and the
 clergy
 especially, for
 having with-
 held their aid,
 and for not
 having taught
 them to obey
 the king,

nor the nobles
 to be merciful.

The reason is
 that the clergy
 preferred to
 enjoy their
 possessions.

The remedy
 would be to
 take away all
 ecclesiastical
 property

1. facillig A. 2. tradite C. 3. sint B. 9. sic A. 10. clerus pre
 deest B. 11. gadagium A. 15, 16. quia — tum deest C. 20. pau-
 peribus AB. 23. occupant omnes MSS. 24. w¹ A. 26. inferret B.
 27. vulgari' A; ib. exhortarentur BC. 29. vulgus C; ib. ad after ipsum
 deest A. 31. ratio C; ib. quod deest A. 35. vita AB. 38. noborare B.

and to divide
it properly
amongst the
laity;
then we should
see a complete
regeneration of
the clergy.

But now we
see the results
of the contrary
system; the
clergy neglects
preaching due
obedience;
and in that
part of England
where they are
most powerful,
they are
most hated.

Such action on
the part of the
secular powers
is not only a
right but a
duty; and
Antichrist
cannot resist:
if they had the
right to give,
they have the
right to take.
If God's law
could be put
down, why
should it not
be set up again?

And should
any individual
resist this
change,
Parliament can
enforce it.

ordinacionem Cristi in clero et populo, ut quod totus
clerus vivat pure de elemosinis corporalibus tempo-
ralium, et illi vivant spiritualiter de elemosinis spiri-
tualibus cleri Cristi. Sic quod omnia bona temporalia
mortificata ecclesie inter seculares homines sagaciter 5
sint partita, et omnis turpis occupacio cleri circa hec
temporalia ad prodessendum ecclesie 2^m spirituales ele-
mosinas sit retorta. Tunc enim splenderet lux Cristi in
regnīs, et, toto clero vivente de decimis et oblacionibus
et privatis elemosinis, vulgares oppressi forent per 10
mortuorum de clero iam mortua a sua oppressione et
miseria relevati; et qualibet parrochialia ecclesia ha-
bente discretum curatum, continuata forent in tribus
membris ecclesie pax et amor.

Nunc vero clerus, monstruose occupans ista dominia, 15 M.
nec docet fidem scripture, quomodo infima pars ec-
clesie | debet dominis secularibus deservire; nec docet 82^a
quomodo secundum coactivam potestatem subditi debent
dominis in moderamine obedire; sed spoliant subiectos
crudelius domino temporali. Unde in signum vastitatis 20
huius doctrine duplicis illa pars Anglie in qua clerus
monstruosius dominatur, ab ista religione magis silve-
stricat. Nam naturali instinctu tam innaturale et dia-
bolicum monstrum in clero totus populus abhorreret.

Nec dubium quin nedum licet sed est debitum do- 25
minis temporalibus taliter ordinare; nam omittendo
fovent symoniacos et sacrilegos hostes suos nequissimos,
ordinacionem domini infideliter reversantes. Quomodo
igitur prevalet anticristus huic parti Cristus contrarius?
Si enim phas est dominis temporalibus stulte dotando 30
ecclesiam dissolvere legem Cristi, quomodo non meren-
tur dissolvendo traditiones infundabiles anticristi? Sed
lex dei in ordinacione cleri sui non haberet tantum
robur, quin potuit dissipari; quomodo lex contraria ad
tantum perpetuatur ex verbis falsis anticristi oppositis, 35
quod nulli liceat in perpetuum huic tradicioni fatue
contraire? Nam mandatum domini est matrem ecclesiam
2^m ordinacionis sue pulcritudinem honorare; mandatum
anticristi est illam pulcritudinem dissipare. Et 3^o si

8. lex AG. 12. revelati A. 33. hūit A; habuit C. 35. ex vii
anti'z hūit A. 37. contrarie AB; contrariare C. 38. ordinaciones A.

11. De clero. The text must be corrupt here.

secundum mendacia et fictam yppocrisim privata persona regni decepta ordinacioni dei ad deturpacionem ecclesie repugnauit, quomodo non liceret toti regno, secundum mandatum dei, in parlamento publico ad
 5 tocus regni subsidium se iuvare? Deus itaque necessitat regnum nostrum publice ordinare, ut, cum tota possessione secularis domini occupata per clerum ab eo extracta, ipsius regni necessitas releuetur: sed sub ista
 10 condicione opposita, quod status pauperum regni, subductis taliagiis et eorum spoliacionibus, congrue conseruetur. Ista autem condicio continuari posset facilius quam cleri dotati condicio seruetur, ad fideliter seruiendum deo, ecclesie et patrono.

Under this condition, however: that tallages should be abolished, and the poor no longer robbed.

Sed procul a regno nostro huius propositi sancti
 15 omissio, ex terrore falsorum fratrum et clericorum de censuris sophisticis anticristi! Deus enim ipsum et apparenciam religionis sue debilitat, et in agressu plus ardui tam nostros quam anticristi domesticos refocillat.

Let us not fear the censures of Antichrist; he is now weakened by the power of God.

N. Diabolus autem primo necessitat principes huius seculi
 20 ex pietate ceca gravare sarcina secularis dominii clerum, qui alia via debet sequi Cristum pauperrimum, sic quod per yppocrisim plus simulant sanctitatem huius facinoris, quam Cristus sancxit pauperiem sui ordinis; et sic principes plus quam subtriplum perdidierant sine
 25 spe conquestus super diabolum de paternis hereditibus sive regnis. 2º, habita ista radice discordie, accendit superbam inuidiam dictorum principum, ut plus patribus suis seuiant in fratres externos, et in causa patris mendacii, dimissa causa leui et utili, necessitetur con-

But the devil compels secular princes 1. to burden the clergy with possessions,

2. to attack foreign lands in defence of the father of lies;

30 sumere se et sua. Et 3º, cum superbia filiorum diaboli ascendit semper, nec ad hoc suppetunt dictis principibus bona propria, cum redditus derimuntur et expense gravancius, necessitantur spoliare intollerabiliter tenentes pauperes; sic quod ipsis vel cede vel inopia interemtis,
 35 necesse sit dictos principes cum regnis suis deficere. Ad hoc enim laborat semper diabolus ut usque ad extinctionem propriam redarguat discipulos scole sue. In omnibus autem istis laborat, cautelam sensui, semper simulans sanctitatem et spem ac confidenciam de ter-

and 3. when by this means their revenue is exhausted, to plunder their poor tenants most intoleration. The latter die of hunger or by the sword, and the princes come to ruin. It is thus that the devil works to destroy his

2. de deest C. 5. necessitat BC. 10. spociacoib C. 14. facti A.
 15. exteriore omnes MSS. 18. r'focillat A. 22. quod yppocrisim plus C.
 26. attendit AC. 27. et B. 27, 28. prioribus B. 28. fines C.
 29. causale B. 31. huc A. 32. diminuunt A. 38. sensibili AC;
 insensibili B.

own followers,
cautiously at
first, but with
utter ruin in
the end.

And worst of
all, secular
princes are
moved by their
own enemies to
persecute the
faithful as
heretics.

The king should
command all
prelates and
learned doctors
in his kingdom
to speak truly
what they
think in this
matter.
But it is to be
feared that
princes will be
blind, since no
warnings have
as yet opened
their eyes.

Seven heads of
a petition.

1. That England
should obey no
See, unless such
obedience
agrees with
Christ's law.

2. That no
money should
be sent to
Rome or to
Avignon, unless
it is proved to
be due by Holy
Writ.

3. That no man
should enjoy
any benefice,
unless resident
and employed

renis. Sed in fine precipitat suos [in] inconueniens quod
evitant. Causa autem tocius huius malicie est perversa
deordinacio clericorum, cum plus aptantur per mun-
dum atque diabolus ut sint discipuli anticristi, quam
ut 2^m legem apostolicam militent domino Jesu Cristo. 5
Et super hec omnia diabolus ad tantum cecavit do-
minos seculares quod credunt inimicis suis domesticis
infundabiliter contrariantibus huic sentencie et iuvant
tacite, ut anticristus cum suis fideles defendentes et
moventes istam sentenciam tanquam hereticos perse- 10
quantur.

O si rex vellet cunctis prelatis sui regni et doctori-
bus habilibus sub gravi pena iniungere quod dicant in
isto 2^m legem domini veritatem, subducta lege cesarea
et tradicionibus frivolis anticristi! Sed timetur quod in 15
penam inveterate malicie demon per sua organa sic
obundit affectus et cecat intellectus principum; quo
usque tam fides Cristi quam regni prosperitas sint
prostrata. Nam nec verba nec scripta fidelium nec a
deo missum frequens periculum movent vel evigilant 20
anticristum, nisi deo placeat ex speciali gracia suscitare
et excitare principes ad defendendum propriam regaliam.

*Septem imprecationes ad tutelam regni Anglie per eius
proceres exequende.*

Quod rex aut regnum nulli sedi vel prelato obediant, | 25
nisi de quanto ex fide scripture sonat in obedienciam 82^a
domino Jesu Cristo. Patet, quia aliter preponeretur Cristo
in obediencia anticristus. Omnis enim obediencia, que
non fit Cristo, fit anticristo, quia Luce 11^o. *Qui non* Luc.
est mecum adversum me est. XI, 23

Quod nec curie Romane, nec Avinoniensi nec alicui
extere emittatur regni pecunia, nisi doceatur hoc esse
debitum ex scriptura. Patet: quia aliter foret rapina
lupi rapacis, quem Cristus Matth. 7^o dicit esse a fructi- Matth.
bus cognoscendum. VII, 16

Quod nec cardinalis nec alius habeat fructum ecclesie
vel prebende de Anglia, nisi vel rite resideat, vel
occupetur legitime in causa a regni procuratoribus

1. suos deest A; ib. in deest omnes MSS. 2. tocius deest A; ib. huius-
modi malicie C. 7. in istis A. 8. ut C. 9. defendentes deest A.
13. humilibus A; hilibus C. 23. a^{es} ipcaoeß A; Septem imprecationes ad
cautelam regni C; ib. pro A. 25. autem A; ib. obiāt A; obediat C.
31. timore pro curie A; ib. nec before avinoniensi deest C; ib. animo vice A.
38. procoribus A; proceribus C.

racionaliter approbata. Patet: quia aliter non intraret in a legitimate and approved manner.
 per Cristum, sed aliunde ascenderet ut anticristi discipulus per traditiones seculi, et tanquam latro predaretur regnum in subiectis pauperibus sine equivalencia
 5 reconpense; quod rex et regnum tenentur destruere et suos a ferocioribus inimicis defendere.

Quod regni comunitas non oneretur talagiis insuetis, 4. That the Commons should not be antequam totum patrimonium, quo clerus dotatur, deficiat. Patet, quia omnia ista sunt bona pauperum burdened with tallages, until all
 10 caritative exponenda ad eorum egenciam, vivente clero the possessions of the clergy be in perfeccione primarie paupertatis. exhausted.

Quod, quocunque episcopo vel curato dotato de Anglia 5. That the king's duty is in contemptum dei notorie incidente, nedum liceat regi, to confiscate the
 sed teneatur sua temporalia confiscare. Patet, quia aliter temporalities of
 15 regnum infideliter postponeret Cristum regi, eius contemptum ponderans plus quam Cristi. any notoriously wicked Bishop.

Quod rex nullum episcopum vel curatum mancipet 6. That the king should suo ministerio seculari. Patet: quia aliter tam rex quam employ no
 clerus foret proditor Jesu Cristi. ecclesiastic in secular business.

20 Quod rex nullum propter moram in excommunicatione 7. That no one should be incarcerated, antequam 2^m legem dei mora illa sit docta imprisoned
 esse illicita. Patet: quia sepe excommunicantur multi because
 provide, ubi 2^m legem dei et ecclesie debeant excommunicated, until it
 25 carceracionem hominis propter hoc quod facit ut debet, be proved that
 foret opus demonii meridiani. the sentence is according to God's law.

Contraria autem istorum, licet sint insensibilia non curata, tamen nimis confundunt rempublicam, quia res insensibiles parvipense sunt maxime in vigore.

1. Ut patet A. 7. non deest A. 8, 9. deficiatur A.

CAPITULUM OCTAVUMDECIMUM.

The last
tormentor is
the questor.

This class,
living viciously,
robbing the
people,
and preaching
falsehoods
about
indulgences,
troubles the
commonwealth.
Canon law in
many places
provides against
the abuse of
their functions,

and against
their evil
behaviour.

Yet these laws,
not being
applied, are of
no use: it were
therefore better
to do away
with the
questorship.
It is impossible
for the Pope or
any Bishop to

Sequitur de ultimo tortore tractandum. Questores A.
autem multipliciter perturbant rempublicam, scilicet
criminaliter conversando, cum sint mechi comuniter et
viciosi multifarie communiter. 2º fraudulenter spoliant 5
populum propter causam multiplicem nequius quam
raptores. Et 3º, quod est pessimum, fraudant plebem
infideliter, superinducentes perfidias de indulgenciis et
iuvaminibus mortuorum.

Et licet papa cum ecclesia percepit eorum fallacias, 10
tamen propter pecuniam ex cautela diaboli symoniace
defenduntur. Scribitur enim 5º decretalium de peniten-
ciis et remissionibus, caº *Cum ex eo*: "Questores non
debent admitti nisi apostolicas, vel diocesani episcopi,
litteras veras exhibeant; et tunc preter illud quod in 15
ipsis literis continebitur, nichil populo proponere per-
mittantur". Et ibi notatur forma indulgenciarum. Et
ibidem infra precipitur quod questores debent esse
modesti et discreti, nec in tabernis aut in aliis locis
inhonestis hospitentur; nec inutiles aut sumptuosas 20
faciant expensas. Et in Clementinis de penitenciis et
remissionibus, in caº *Abusionibus*, inculcatur hoc idem.
Et superadditur quod episcopi diocesani diligenter exami-
nant litteras apostolicas, ne quid fraudis in eis comittatur.

Quid, inquam, valet, tot contra questores statuere, 25
et eorum execucionem dimittere? Ideo videtur quod
sunt simpliciter abrogandi, cum propter eorum pro-
mulgaciones non edificatur ecclesia, et per consequens
nusquam debent admitti, cum nulli apostolicas vel
diocesani episcopi litteras veras exhibeant; et ut logici 30

1. Caº 18 in red ink A. 2. Initial S in red ink A. 5. cong A; con-
sequenter C. 10, 17. pernecessitantur A; pretermittantur C. 25. contra
tot C. 30. et deest C.

13. Decr. Greg. lib. V, tit. 38, c. 14. 22. Decr. Clem. V, 9, 2.

obiciunt, non est in potestate eorum precise illud quo in ipsis literis continetur, populo proponere; nec formam morum eis iniuncta est in episcopi potestate. Ideo excedit potestatem pape et cuiuscunque conversantis episcopi prescindere ab eis, tam intencione quam opere, symoniacam pravitatem et illusionem populi in verbis superfluis et infidelibus. Et sic ad regem et dominos temporales pertinent tales questores et alios predictos raptos excludere.

10 Probatur sic. Rex, cum sit servus et tenens Christi, aliquid debet ut sic sibi facere; sed nichil, si non gubernare eius populum 2^m legem suam; ergo illud officium 2^m modum suum debet exequi propter Christum. Et ad hoc sonant multe leges humane, et specialiter dictum apostoli ad Rom. 13, qui dicit quod propterea *habent potestatem a deo*. Ut Luce 19, ille cuius omnia opera sunt ecclesie exemplaria operandi intravit Jerusalem ut rex, et destruxit symoniaca comeria sacerdotum.

20 Item, proporcionaliter ut homo debet plus diligere, debet eius contemptus plus odiri. Sed ex primo mandato dato | decalogi Christus debet amari super omnia: ergo eius contemptus debet proporcionaliter odiri. Sed cum in omni peccato Christus primo contempnitur, sequitur quod omne peccatum debet odiri a quolibet, et specialiter a regibus propter Christum. Sed quomodo odit peccatum, in cuius potestate est ipsum destruere et non facit? Consensus quidem est; cum iuxta sanctorum sententias, qui emendare potest et negligit, absque dubio delicti participem se constituit. Nec valent anticristi excusaciones in hac parte, cum non debet esse lex, privilegium vel dignitas contra Christum, cum si Lucifer incarnatus faceret contra Christum, non obstante quod sit maioris dignitatis in natura quam satrape, omnes fideles debent sibi resistere: ymmo si per impossibile angelus de celo inpueraret legem Christi verbo vel opere, tota ecclesia debet sibi obstare. Potentatus itaque fideles, qui ex tanta mercede sunt Christi tenentes et tam stricte sub gravi pena sibi obligati, debent se obicere contra adversarios Christi, quia aliter indubie infringunt primum

put a stop to these abuses; this therefore becomes the duty of the secular powers.

Proofs. The king, being Christ's lieutenant, ought as such to govern the people according to his law.

He should love Christ above all, and therefore not bear to see him treated with contempt. If he does, having the power to hinder it, he becomes guilty by consent.

Privileges and dignities are nothing here: if Lucifer, if an angel from Heaven, were to oppose Christ's law, he should be resisted.

But in these latter days men love themselves more than Christ.

1. illud deest B; id C. 3. 4. ex re de potestate A. 5. prescindere BC.
10. proditur A; proceditur B. 12. gubernaret B. 13. nomen B.
16. habet A; ib. Et pro Ut C. 17. extraria A. 24. omnia A; ib.
prius C. 29. que B. 33. in carto A. 40. ipsum pro primum B.

mandatum decalogi, cum illum cuius contemptum plus odiunt, magis diligunt. Sed secundum vaticinium apostoli: *In novissimis diebus sunt homines se ipsos amantes*, cum ² Tim. ad vindicandum propriam iniuriam currunt precipites, III, ² sed ad vindicandum iniuriam dei, quem debent supra se ⁵ ipsos diligere, sunt nimis desides, et sic dei proditores.

This would besides prove very useful from a temporal point of view.

More than 2 100,000 annually go out of the kingdom by means of these 12 tormentors, especially the Roman Curia, wicked Bishops, bad priests, monks and friars.

If the king, in addition to his revenue, possessed all that money, the State would be prosperous.

Thus not only spiritual but also temporal motives should persuade the Government to act prudently, but firmly.

No fear of censures should daunt them in taking Christ's part.

Item, loquendo ad hominem, videtur quod propria regum utilitas necessitaret ad dei iniuriam vindicandum. Nam ^{2m} notantes statum regni nostri, plus quam centum milia librarum rapiuntur per dictos tortores ^{12^{tim}} ¹⁰ anuatim. Quod cum rex posset faciliter destruere, videtur quod ex stulta desidia gratis vult plus quam medietatem regni sui amittere. Et sic omnes perturbationes que exinde proveniunt, procurat implicite regno contingere: quod est alienum a regis officio. Unde de ¹⁵ illis XII tortoribus notant quinque qui sunt precipui filii regis superbie, scilicet: romana curia, episcopi perversi, curati qui non intrant per hostium apostatantes, religiosi possessionati, et ^{4^{or}} secte fratrum. Si, inquam, totus thesaurus regni quem ipsi furtive rapiunt, foret servatus Cristo ad usus utiles regi et regno, tanta summa ut predicatur vel maior, preter thesaurum residuum regni nostri sibi cederet ad augmentum prosperitatis, ubi iam ipsum inficit et perturbat. Et sic C. iuxta passionem marasmi necessitatur rex a suis mem- ²⁵bris, viris regnicolis, temporalia sibi imprudenter extrahere. Et sic fidelitas debita Cristo, mandati sui observacio, et prosperitatis regni accumulacio moverent regem et eius consilium ad prudenter, constanter, et fortiter exequendum vindictam iniurie dei sui. Illam ³⁰ autem iniuriam debet rex cum suo consilio ex isto convincere. Et ex fide vite Cristi et sue legis capiant quomodo clerus suus debet vivere; et quantum ex probacione sui operis ab illo exorbitat, impedimenta huius devii tanquam sua subtrahere; nec excomuni- ³⁵caciones vel alie censure fecte diaboli debent ab isto opere fideles principes exterrere. Quid, queso, an peccatum, vel creatura, vel aliquod nominandum impedirent fideles principes, ne contra diabolum teneant partem

2. amant *pro* diligunt B. 3. ipsos *deest* B. 9. sui A. 12. w¹ A.
16. que A. 17. filii *deest* A; *ib.* epi C. 19. a religione A. 24. ibi A.
5. ultra A. 26. veris C. 28. obficia A. 29. et *after* constanter
deest AB. 31. iniurant A; *ib.* debent A. 32. quod ex fide vite BC;
ib. vitem B. 34. et impedimenta C. 37. ante B. 38. aliquid C.

Cristi? Scripta quidem satraparum, ut bulle vel litere mandati credi non excedunt ewangelium nec mandatum anticristi excedit auctoritatem vel mandatum domini Jesu Cristi. Ewangelium autem credimus ex integro esse verum, cum fuit dictatum ex sapientia increata. Sed scripta alia credimus ex instinctu diaboli, cum sint de scribentibus incognitis et plurimum viciata. Quid, queso, scit talis prelatus cesareus tantum a practica elongatus, quod foret utilius et debitum tali ecclesie, 10 ministrum quem ipse mandat suscipere? Ewangelium autem dicit quod operibus debemus credere. Sed sicut nescit de indulgenciis vel aliis suffragiis, que sompniat et stulte spondet quot vel quante sorciantur effectum; sic nescit si mandatum suum de suscipiendo talem 15 ministrum sit ad utilitatem subditi adinplendum. Ideo, sicut oportet, secundum eorum ficticiam, quod habeant veras literas prelatorum, sic oportet secundum fidem quod habeant veras literas pontificis animarum. Ille autem litere sunt opera debita, que inspirat; nec oportet 20 ante opera illa a populo edificato mercedem repetere, quia ministri Cristi non sunt tam avidi sicut famuli anticristi. Et sic deordinacio presumpta ab anticristo, ordinacioni Cristi contraria, inducit perturbaciones et dissensiones in Cristi ecclesiam. Et, ut breviter dicatur, 25 segnicies principum secularium et versucie satraparum depauperant fidem, spem et caritatem in vocato christianismo plus quam in iudaysmo vel saracismo proscribitur.

Nec valet obieccio qua ydiote arguunt iuxta istud 83^b 30 deficere clerum Cristi; quia si in lege veteri sufficit 12^{cim} tribubus clero tam onerato collacio decimarum, quanto magis in lege Cristi sufficeret 'regno cuilibet multitudo cleri viventis in medio virtuoso, inter secularem dominacionem et mendicitatem, vivere in Cristi 35 pauperie ex oblacionibus et decimis, que sunt ob Cristi D. amorem caritativius ministrare? Nec obest 2^a obieccio, qua dicitur multos sanctos statum istum tam verbo quam opere aprobasse et nitentes ipsum disrumpere, excommunicasse, quia intelligitur de disrupcione illicita.

No Bull is above the Gospel, nor is Antichrist above Christ.

How can a non-resident prelate know that such and such a minister whom he sends will do good to that Church?

No more than he can know what effect his indulgences have.

The letters that a questor ought to bear should be from Christ himself: then he would be less greedy for money.

The sloth of Christian princes and the cunning of bad prelates bring Christianity below Mahometanism.

It is absurd to object that the clergy would starve; if tithes were

sufficient in the old Law, how much better off the clergy would be now,

neither lords nor beggars!

Equally absurd is it to say that the present order has been approved by many Saints.

1. ewangelium credi omnes MSS. 7. distribuentibus A; ib. plurium A; esse plurium B; pli^m C. 8. cesarius C. 10. suscitare A. 13. quod C; ib. forciuntur A; sorciantur C. 15. sic C. 17, 18. prelatorium — pontificis deest A. 18. heat C. 20. recipere A. 26. notato A. 29. iuxta deest A. 36. ca'tatig A; ib. ministrare C. 38. vicentes A. 39. dirrupcione C.

Christ is the
Founder of our
law; all private
religions are
without
authority, and,
like the Koran,
contain good
mixed with evil.
Our religion
has, it is true,
been vitiated;
but its
substance
remains
eternally
immaculate.

Three
positions of
mine which are
attacked.
I. Concerning
the perfection
of the religious
state.

Grosseteste
quoted.
Christ our
model did not
abstain from
eating meat.

We are now
more burdened
with ceremonial
observances
than in the
time of the
old Law.

Christ's acts
were marked
by kindness,
meekness and
modesty.

Sed quicumque disruptit ordinacionem Cristi priorem in ista materia est a deo simpliciter maledictus. Ideo sit Cristus nobis auctor ordinis atque legis, et alii privati sequentes qui multipliciter peccaverunt sunt sine auctoritate Cristi autores primi tradicionum suarum omnium adiectarum. Et sicut lex et ordo sarracenica, ex multis bonis et illicitis sunt permixta. Exemplar autem ordinis nostri cristiani sit *lex domini immaculata*, licet ipsa religio sit ex pluribus tradicionibus adinventis in accidentibus plurimum viciata. Substantia autem nostri ordinis manet perpetue incontaminata, personis et modis agendi multipliciter maculatis. Melius igitur fuisset basim religionis constare, et privatos defectus personarum corrigi, quam propter personalia delicta tales ordines introduci.

Redeundo igitur per modum epilogi recitabuntur tres sentencie, quas adversarii videntur inugnare: Prima est de perfeccione status et ordinis; in qua materia superbi in sectis novellis magis insaniunt. Sed ne videar ex parvitate ingenii mei sentenciam novam effundere, notemus quid dicit Lincolniensis in quadam notula quo ad istam materiam.

"Cum", inquit, "salvator modestus, exemplar conversacionis fidelium, manducans et bibens de sibi appositis docuit discipulos suos carnes comedere, que est prudentia hominum esum huiusmodi prohibere?" "Comedit", inquit, "inter laicos; cuius oppositum faciunt ypocrite, domi comedentes, sed extra non; cum 2^m apostolum Galathas 2, libertas vere religionis stat in deobligacione ad ritus ceremoniales corporales introductos ex lege veteri, qui hodie supra legem veterem copiosius introducti dant cristianis occasionem ut omittatur fervor volitive potencie vel tepescat." "Graviter", inquit, "ferret apostolus nobiscum conversans, iam videns quod magis apreciamur tradiciones hominum, quam puram et necessariam legem Cristi. Sed quo ad gestus Cristi, patet quod utrobique sapiunt affabilitatem, mansue-

1. dirruperit C. 2. fit A; sic C. 3. autor AC. 4. que B.
6. subiectarum B. 7. et illicitis *deest* C. 10. accidentalibus C.
12. autem B. 14. qua AC. 14, 15. introducti B. 16. Reddendo A.
17. inugnare C. 23. modestus exemplar *deest* C. 25. suos *deest* BC;
ib. Lincolniensis de esu carniū *in marg.* B. 26. homi esum hmoi
(sic) C. 29. 2 *deest* AB. 30. introductas C. 31. que omnes MSS.
31, 32. introducte omnes MSS. 32. accusacionem A: *ib.* furor A.

tudinem et modestiam. Affabilitas patet ex dulci collo-
 quio cum samaritana Joh. 4. cum cananea, cum
 Magdalena Lu. 7^o. de Martha et paciente fluxum, de
 accusata de adulterio Joh. 8, de mulieribus ipsum se-
 E. 5. 5. quentibus, de quibus sumptus suscepit Luc. 9^o. Item
 Luc. de peccatoribus, de predestinatis, Nicodemo phariseo,
 VIII, 3 Joh. 3^o. Zacheo publicano, Luc. 19, et multis aliis; et
 de parvulis quos voluit libere accedere, et complectens
 et inponens manus ab illis voluit laudari. Sed comuni-
 10 cando cum phariseis et prescitis durissime sed modeste
 eos redarguit, ut patet Matth. 23; in exemplum quod
 nos, cum illis conversando, non applaudamus peccatis
 eorum, facti eorum participes, sed dure eos increpando
 ac vicia exprobrando, servata caritate et dilectione
 15 nature, debeamus nunc lucide et nunc tenebrose cum
 triplici manerie peccatorum de quibus speramus emen-
 das gravaminum commisceri: scilicet cum potentibus
 aut publicanis ac dominis et ministris mundo, cum
 mollibus muliebriter indutis, qui ad peccata carnis
 20 generaliter inclinantur, et cum mundialiter superbientibus,
 iocose lascivientibus, excecatis ceca superbia, ut
 parvuli." "Omne", inquit, "quod est in mundo est
 aliquod horum trium. His, inquam, instar Cristi de-
 bemus esse affabiles, hortantes fugere vicia et prosequi
 25 opera virtuosa." Ex istis dictis huius sancti patet quod
 debemus communicare cum ista 3^{ci} manerie hominum,
 modis suis, secundum quod credimus ad honorem dei
 et profectum ecclesie plus prodesse. "Non", inquit, "de-
 bemus noscendo nostram fortitudinem, comunicacionem
 30 peccatorum auffugere, cum Cristus manducavit cum
 peccatoribus, ut peccata deleret, ac cum eis pernoctavit,
 Matth. 9; cum familiaribus ut eorum devocionem nutriret,
 Jo. 12; et cum phariseis, ut eorum superbiam confutaret,
 ut patet Luc. 7^o, ubi phariseum in comparacione magni-
 tudine corripuit in 3^{bus}, in quibus ipsa prevaluit, scilicet
 in non locione pedum, in non affectione ostensa per
 osculum, et in non hilaritate signata per oleum."

He rebuked
 sinners
 severely indeed,
 but with
 moderation, as
 an example to us
 in our dealings
 with the three
 kinds of
 sinners: those
 in power, those
 given to sins of
 the flesh, and
 those prone to
 worldly pride.

We must not
 therefore avoid
 communication
 with them, but
 endeavour to
 do them good;
 Christ ate with
 sinners to blot
 out their sins,
 with his
 disciples, to
 increase their
 devotion, and
 with Pharisees,
 to confound
 their pride.

1. duplici A^l. 2. p. 10 cum after cananea A.
 3. luc^o VI C. 4. Joh. 8 deest B. 5. sus deest C. 6. de before
 peccatoribus deest B; prius de supra lineam suppl. C; ib. de deest B.
 9. Cum pro Sed B. 10. dimissive A. 11. arguit C. 15. licite AC.
 17. quam A; ib. videlicet B. 18. ac C; ib. ut pro ac BC. 20. origi-
 naliter AB. 23. inquit AB. 28. inquam omnes MSS. 34. patet
 deest BC. 34, 35. mag^{is} A; magdalene C. 35. scilicet deest A.
 37. non in AB; ib. in deest C.

It is thus no new thing to have communication with apostates in order to reprove them.

They are at fault on three points: their religion, the Eucharist and Penance, of none of which they know the essence.

A private religion is to the law of Christ as the law of a particular State is to the principles of political law. Both savour of sin.

The rules of such religions are a foolish remedy for men spiritually ailing.

It is possible to be saved in these religions, but with difficulty.

All their rules and traditions can be shown to imply blasphemy; therefore the elect amongst them give them up before the hour of death.

Hec Lincolnensis. Ex istis dictis huius sancti patet quod non est novitas inaudita, sed sententia eterna antiqua dierum quod comunicando cum phariseis apostatis debemus accute eorum versucias reprobare. Et cum non habent unde doceant nostram sententiam esse falsam, debemus constanter in incepta sententia permanere. 3^a enim sunt in quibus claudicant, quiditatem et passionem sentencie ignorantes: scilicet, religionis sue, sacramenti altaris, et sacramenti penitencie quiditates; quibus ignoratis necesse est ipsos sequencia ignorare. Si enim vellent istorum quiditates supponere sive discutere, tunc possent in sequencia evidenter procedere. Sed non audent.

F.

Ego enim voco privatam religionem vel ordinem sectam novellam ex regulis vel tradicionibus hominum non pure ewangelio stabilitam: sic quod religio porcionaliter se habet ad regulam Cristianam, sicut omne civile dominium se habet ad legem politicam. Et ita sicut omne civile dominium sapit peccatum, sic omnis novella religio sapit ad minimum veniale. Nec sciunt cultores istius defendere quin sit medicina fatua pro debilibus adinventata; fatua quidem, cum supra ewangelium dant multas medicinales regulas, que peccatum sapiunt vel errorem; ymmo sicut natura prevalet regule medicine, sic ewangelium prevalet supra omnes tradiciones hominum adinventas. Ideo omnes iste secte novelle inevitabiliter fundantur in multiplici errore, licet (difficilius) possent ex immensitate gracie Cristi in talibus sectis regnum celorum adquirere. Difficilius dico, quia licet facilitantur in aliquo, tamen sunt magis simpliciter difficultati. Unde regula Cristi ad peccata evitandum est pocior quam aliqua regula adinventata; patet, proponendo in lucem regulam Cristi cum illis tradicionibus adinventis. Et sic, expressa eorum regula cum tradicionibus conglobatis, manifeste patet quod pauci vel nulli evaderent quin saperent expresse blasphemam. Et hinc nolunt dare essenciales differencias vel totum regule sue ambitum, per quas privati ordines militando sic erronee ab aliis distingwantur. Et hinc predestinati eorum, vel in morte vel ante, renunciant istis regulis, religioni cristiane simplici innitendo.

7. claudicant *deest* B. 16. sed *pro* sic AB. 17. Cristianam *deest* AC. 18. omne *deest* AC. 19. ista A. 25. ultra A; super C. 32. evacuandum BC. 35. pateret C. 36. sapant A.

Forma autem in probacionibus regule novelle patet ex dictis de 3^{ci} lege papali. Primo, quomodo illi quibus provisum est debent preponi ex ca^o *Si duobus*, de rescriptis, in 6^o, Secundo, quomodo singuli cristiani debent semel in anno proprio sacerdoti, et soli, peccata sua singula confiteri, ut patet in lege: *Omnis utriusque sexus*. Et 3^o, quomodo excommunicacio offendencium in cardinales et alios debet fieri, ut patet in lege de penis, ca^o *felicis memorie* 6^o. Non enim patroni privatorum istorum ordinum presumerent se dare reccius medicamina contra culpam quam regulat curia romana in talibus.

Ideo, attendendo ad tempus obligacionis, ad varietatem secte obligate et ad penam que in offendentes infligitur, patet quod stulte medicina Cristi postponitur. Et cum non mediocriter peccat qui maiori bono postposito minus eligit, manifeste videtur quod omnes dicte secte inevitabiliter peccant, eligendo tradiciones huiusmodi adinventas. Securius quidem foret inniti medicine quam Cristus instituit contra peccatum mundi, peccatum carnis atque diaboli, quam taliter incarcerari in claustro, vel taliter 2^m privatas observancias regulari, vel taliter 2^m formas tegumentorum generaliter coaptari. Unde patet ad oculum quod regule secundum quas secte tales reficiuntur, cum eadem sit ratio in omnibus illis sectis, stulte et inprovidē, ubi est rationis conformitas, tam varie seminantur. In cuius signum: in regula Cristi non potest notari defectus, sicut nec in observancia regule cristiane. In illis autem privatis ordinibus et regulis detectis in luce, crebrius patet error. Et istum errorem tangit Lincolniensis ubi supra; ut patet luce clarius sedule indaganti. Quomodo, queso, procederent a deo tales regule, cum sit supra potestatem hominum illa statuere sic perpetuo? Cur pro toto tempore Cristi, et tot centenariis annorum sine observancia fuerant ociose? Aut que ratio, quare unus religiosus obligatur ad libram panis in die, ad amenam vini, et non comedere carnes quadrupedum, et non quilibet eque aptus? Unde

It is foolish nay, criminal to prefer man's remedies to those of Christ.

Better follow the rules which He gave against the world the flesh and the devil, than to be shut up in a convent.

In Christ's law and in Christianity there are no defects, whereas there are many in private religions. And if so, how could they proceed from Divine inspiration? Why, should one man be compelled to strict abstinence, and not another?

4. quod C. 8. preferi C. 9. in pro memorie A. 13. et deest A.
15. peccant A. 17. mentaliter B. 19. peccatum before carnis deest C.
20. vel deest B. 27. sed C. 36. amenam omnes MSS.

3. Decr. Clem. II., tit. 5, c. 1. 6. See p. 112, note. 9. Sext. Decr. V, tit. 9, c. 5, *Felicis recordationis*. 11. In talibus. I am at a loss to see what this paragraph has to do with what precedes or what follows. Only the first canon, *Si duobus*, &c. can have any bearing upon the Friars. 36. *Amenam*. i. e. *hemnam*. See Du Cange.

infeccionem istarum tradicionum insinuat varietas dispensandi. Et eadem obieccio est de quolibet in lege privata explicite supra ewangelium.

If it be said that these orders are only a collection of observances to aid in following Christ's law, it is true that some observances are necessary, but not for ever: and it is that perpetuity which constitutes a sect. The Founders of the Sects may have imposed this as a law, out of blind piety; they may have intended their rules to be observed only as helps to true religion, but then there would have been no sects; all Christians are obliged to follow them in so far.

Et si dicatur quod illi privati ordines non sunt nisi ritus ewangelium practisandi, quales ritus habuerunt apostoli, et illos contingit meritorie practisare: respon- 5 deo concedendo quod necesse est, quam diu hic vivimus, practisare ritus in genere; cum, ut dicit Augustinus, "Sacriliegum foret negare simpliciter omnes ritus". Sed notanda est differentia servandi illos ritus pro loco et 10 tempore, et unam sectam perpetuo obligari ad indiffinite ipsos servandum. Nec sine tali sensu constitueret novam regulam plus quam quicumque ritus apostoli sive sancti. Et sic posset intelligi quod patroni privatorum ordinum habuerunt singulares ritus, quorum observacio videbatur 15 eis expediens; et ceca pietate voluerunt unam sectam ipsos sequentem illos ritus perpetuo ut ewangelium observari; quam stulticiam non expedit excusare. Quod si condicionaliter intenderent quod illos ritus observent, de quanto promovent ad observanciam | legis Cristi, 20 84^b patet quod non exinde resultaret secta sive religio novella, cum eque obligantur ad illam veritatem condicionatam seculares et singuli cristiani. Ideo observancia privatorum ordinum monet quod patroni eorum non taliter intenderent. Nec expedit nobis discutere, sive 25 culpa sit plus in patronis istorum ordinum, quam in personis de secta sua sequentibus; quia indubie, qui credit patronos illos tantum errasse vel amplius, non blasfemat; quia Paulus prius fuit blasfemus, ut ipsemet testatur; postmodum se correxit. Et sic supponi debet, 30 ut supra, quod dum sic cece erraverant et iam sunt in celo, ut credimus, revocarunt; potest enim esse, quod in credendo ritus istos prodesse toti secte simpliciter erraverunt; et potest esse quod in sequentibus sue secte fuit culpa gravior. Unum tamen scio, quod 35 venenum in istis privatis ordinibus stat in obligatione illibertante nimis profunda, quo ad illa que possent, illa dimissa, bene fieri. Ut, verbi gracia, licite et meritorie contingit hominem aufugere monetam tangere,

Perhaps they retracted their error, and are, as we believe, in Heaven; perhaps they were merely mistaken, and their followers were more to blame than they. One thing is certain: that they went too far in restraining individual liberty.

1. inperfeccionem C; *ib.* insynuat A; *ib.* varietates B. 2. est *deest* B.
12. observandum B. 14. potest C. 15. observancia C. 16. et ex BC;
ib. tota *pro* ceca C. 17. perpetue C. 25. 26. si in culpa sit pluralitas A. 26. culpa *deest* B. 29. fuit *deest* AC *corr.* B. 30. postquam B. 36. verum A.

sicut verisimiliter Cristus non tetigit; sed quod religiosus pro nunquam tangat in casu aliquo sub pena apostasie, horribilis foret observancia, blasphemiam sapiens, et per consequens infundabilis in scriptura; et
 5 nullo modo licite religionis particula, quia implicat condicionem quam deus non potest perficere. Quod si ista fecerit, tunc sic peccat et tollit libertatem quam deus instituit, sicut Lincolnensis tangit.

Et ita inculcata fuit seducta generalior ecclesia, do-
 10 tando contra ordinacionem Cristi perpetuo particulares ecclesias. 2^o ex eadem cecitate fuit introducta possessionatorum religio. Et 3^o introducta est non minus culpabiliter mendicantium religio, postquam cassatis prioribus, si deus voluerit, reddibitur generaliter ad
 15 religionem simplicem cristianam. Omnes enim iste sapiunt in isto blasphemiam, quod statuunt tradicionem suam ut optimam pro perpetuo observandam, ac si forent domini temporis perpetui et omnium suarum vicissitudinum variarum, quod soli deo est proprium.

20 Ideo, cum tollunt libertatem quam deus graciosè concesserat, qua expedit nunc 2^m unum ritum, et nunc secundum alium viare, ipsi stulte limitant 2^m regulas anticristi, extollendo se super deum nostrum, perpetuo sic viare: ut sicut dotans ecclesiam particularem illi-
 25 bertat se et genus suum ad dandum et subtrahendum
 1. elemosinas corporales, ut expedit, sic in religionibus privatis illibertantur ad nunc dimittendum et nunc assumendum ritus secundum exigenciam rationis. Et per hec patet quam frivola est quarundam sectarum
 30 observancia. Quedam secte abhorrent fratres suos tanquam graves apostatas, qui crucem monete tangere parvipendunt; sed inventa moneta mediante panno vel chirotheca tangere dicunt licere, sicut perforata vel
 35 affeccionem in animo phariseice parvipendunt. Et iustificare hanc regulam non subiacet potestati divine.

Et per hoc tollitur instantia qua obiciunt hec licere. Hoc, inquit, observare per aliquantum tempus, est licitum, et per idem continue; et pari evidenciam qua

V. g. a man may very rightly refrain from touching money: but it is monstrous to forbid a Religious ever to touch money under any circumstances.

Church endowments, the institution of monks and that of Friars proceed from the same false principle: tradition is perfect and must be perpetually observed.

We ought to change according to circumstances, adopting now one way of living and now another; whereas they lay down hard and fast lines,

which often lead to ridiculous puerility: some friars, for instance, cannot touch a coin without apostasy, unless with a rag or a glove, or the coin be punched or broken.

Objection: What is lawfully done for some time may be lawfully done for ever.

1. sed pro sicut C. 2. tangat monetam BC. 9. telpar A. 14. generaliter deest AB. 15. iste deest C. 17. p ppe^o A. 22. variare C. 24. variare A. 29. frivolla C. 30. Que BC. 32. parvipedunt A; ib. pano A. 33. chiroteca AB; cyroteca C. 34. fracta pro perforata AB. 34, 35. inordinata affeccione A. 37. omnia pro instantia A.

uni persone, et toti secte; et per consequens licet quantumcunque firmiter tali licito perpetuo obligari. Patet ex dictis quod nec Cristus potuit ultra libertatem quam deus instituit ad ritus huiusmodi obligare; ut consilium Cristi est quod sui apostoli *nichil ferant in 5 via, neque peram, neque baculum, neque duas tunicas habeant*: quod subintelligendum est, de quanto retardat ab officio predicandi. Sed quod ista simpliciter observentur sub pena damnandi peccati; scilicet, si contraveniunt, tunc sic peccant: hoc tolleret libertatem eter- 10 nam, et per consequens dominus hoc non potest. Et istud est venenum quo quelibet privata religio est infecta. Observent igitur privata consilia, si et quatenus expediunt, quamdiu voluerint, sed caveant a nimietate obligacionis et omissione libertatis quam deus instituit, 15 ne blasfement.

Christ himself could not encroach upon man's freedom. His particular directions to the Apostles are all to be understood in so far as they are of use.

Let Friars keep their observances as long as they choose, and without constraint.

It is allowed in certain cases to marry or to slay: but it does not follow that a Friar should take a vow to do either. And to found an order with rules to be provisionally observed would be of no use, since all Christians would be equally bound by them.

Besides, human presumption would always tend to render them absolute.

And to bind any one in this manner cannot be lawful, since it takes away Christian liberty;

Et patet quod non plus sequitur: *hoc potest bene fieri: igitur, sic obligari ad hoc est licitum*, quam sequitur: *Quilibet frater de secta data potest meritorie uxori et confratrem suum occidere: igitur, ad hoc obligari 20 2^m rationem vel religionis vel ordinis est licitum*. Religio enim debet fundari simpliciter in [opere] virtuoso. Et similiter fundare religionem in talibus consiliis, 'si et quatenus sunt racionaliter observanda', foret superfluum, gravans et illibertans ecclesiam, et ex processu in infinitum 25 diminuens ordinem cristianum. Quilibet enim cristianus habens facultatem ad observandum tale consilium sive neutrum, debet ipsum, si et quatenus expedit, observare. Unde privati ordines, de quanto sunt liciti, sunt fundati super consiliis ewangelis et ritibus neutris, 30 cum moderamine, illa 'de quanto expedit' observandi.

Sed quia humana presumptio nititur perpetuare ista et equiparare religioni Cristi vel mandatis domini: ideo ex instinctu regis superbie, quo vult constanter hec observari et plus et diucius quam bonificarent circumstancie, 35 est venenum. Nec videtur quod obligacio ad hos ritus sit licita, cum vel tollit vel diminuit | libertatem quam 85^a Cristus ad utilitatem ecclesie ordinavit. Per hoc enim tardantur observari Cristi mandata sive consilia, cum

3. nec *deest* AB. 4. obligari C. 7. habeatis B. 9. dandi omnes MSS. 12. verum A. 21. rom l r'hoið A; *ib.* vel *before* religionis *deest* C. 22. difundari A; *ib.* similiter *deest* A; *ib.* opere *deest* omnes MSS. 23. simpliciter et fundare C. 33. domini *deest* A. 39. credantur B; *ib.* observare C.

sint tantum observancie finite, et plus observant illud, quod minus expedit observare. Ideo necesse est observancias plus utiles diminui sive tolli. Et eadem est consideracio de observanciis privatis, quas leges papales
 5 constituunt. Cum enim obligantur ad observandum libertatem primevam quam a Cristo receperant, et iterum obligantur novelli ad eius oppositum, videtur quod sunt ad contradictoria diabolice obligati, et ita toto facto laboraret quilibet fidelis quod ecclesia ponatur
 10 in statu primevi quem Cristus instituit, subductis novellis legibus, eciam papalibus, et novis ordinationibus introductis. Tunc enim non foret tanta obligacio ad ritus. Sed cum ille sunt consuetudines operandi, sequentes per accidens ad virtutes, sequentibus illis in
 15 parvipensione graduum, non fiat illis obligacio talis perpetua, sicut est in dictis privatis ordinibus, sed fiat per se obligacio ad virtutes et opera virtuosa. Et sic
 1 Cor. intelligo apostolum 1^a cor. 6^o: *Imitatores mei estote*,
 XI, *sicut et ego Cristi*. Noluit enim apostolus quod secta
 20 sequeretur eum in modo vivendi obligacione sectali, nisi per se fuerit virtuosus, sicut creditur quadam proprietate esse de quolibet modo vivendi Cristi. Unde difficultas est, utrum patriarche novorum ordinum ad illos ordines obligantur. Et tenent quidem quod illi
 25 sunt in illis generibus equivoce, et non univoce cum sectis sequentibus, sicut fuit de Moyse quo ad legale sacerdocium et de Cristo quo ad ordinem cristianum. Nec est vis quo ad patriarchas istorum ordinum, cum non sint per se ex hoc laudandi.
 30 Sed 2^o obicitur contra obligacionem temporalium, in qua materia scribe et pharisei magis insaniunt, tum, quia ab ipsis dependet tam voluntas, quam ars lucrativa eorum. Et movet ratio duplex: Prima, quia ordinationem tot et talium sanctorum tam diutinam non licet infrin-
 35 gere; 2^o, quia per idem quodcunque quod secularis occupat iniuste occupat liceret abstrahere; ex quibus
 I. nimjs perturbaretur utrumque brachium ecclesie. Hic dicitur quod tam necessaria est illa sententia, quod impossibile est pacificare regna vel clerum complete sol-

which is also true of Papal laws; the faithful should therefore resist them.

When St. Paul counselled the Christians to imitate him, he did not mean his mode of life. Christ alone should be thus imitated. As for the Founders of the Sects, it is a question whether they properly belong to them: as Founders, they are not to be approved.

II. I am attacked with special fury on the doctrine of temporalities. My position is contrary to what many and great Saints have approved; and it would go to prove that all secular possessions are also unjust and may be taken away.

1. observacione A. 2. observari AB. 7. quod in B. 8. qdo^o (sic) AC. 9. eciam pro ecclesia AC. 11. ordinibus BC. 14. ad deest B. 21. credr' A. 25. exclusive omnes MSS. 27. qui B. 30. oblaco³ C. 32. voluptas C. 36. occupat before iniuste deest AB. 38. est deest A.

Yet it is
necessarily true,
and the only
means of
restoring peace
to Christendom.
We should
prefer to believe
Christ and his
Apostles than
any number of
saints.

Let my
opponents do
the works that
those Saints did,
or prove that
they were right
in accepting
endowments.
As for the other
argument, civil
lordship and
possession by
almsdeed are
two different
things.
If the clergy
abuses the gifts
granted to it,
there being but
a limited supply
of wealth, that
abuse must be
felt throughout
the world; and it
is the king's duty
to remedy it,
according to
the parable of
the steward, of
which my
interpretation is
right; the
burden of
temporalities
being a true
debt we owe to
God.

Thus the clergy
possessing more
wealth, ought to
return more

vere sua debita, nisi illa sententia fuerit per principes practisata. Et quantum ad primum obiectum, credendum est plus Cristo cum suis apostolis, quam infinitis sanctis vel dictis quorumcunque, eciam canonisatorum, approbancium dotacionem cleri. Verumtamen illi primo 5 receperant nudo titulo elemosine tanquam custodes bona pauperum, et vel depauperati ab arte predicandi, vel inclinati ad seculum, anxie laborarunt circa dictorum bonorum custodiam. Sed post ex cautela diaboli surrepsit presumptum cleri dominium eciam ultra dominos seculares. 10

Et sic, quo ad primum dicitur arguenti, vel quod faciat illis sanctis similiter, vel doceat quod non in hoc venialiter peccaverunt. Quo ad 2^m, sepe dictum est diversitatem esse inter occupationem civilem et elemosinariam; et sic differt dicta bona iniusti civilis ab ipso 15 rapere, et bona pauperum que darentur titulo elemosine, caritative exigere vel tenere. Et cum deus dat toto generi humano de temporalibus in mensura, nec amplius propter cleri cupidinem, manifeste patet quod preponderatis temporalibus et clero adeo abutente, necesse 20 est quod in seculo fiat dissensio; et cum regis sit pacificare pauperes, a spoliacione iniusta defendere, et viciantes suam regaliā destruere, patet quod illorum est sententiam istam practisando defendere; quod docetur Luc. 16^o in parabola salvatoris qua deus laudavit Luc. villicum iniquitatis ex hoc quod deonerando clerum de XVI, 8 redditu 50^a cadorum olei habuit exinde amicos in purgatorio. Nec valet dicere quod sensus istius parabole est fictus contra sententiam Bede, cum vivax ratio docet quod clerus sic dotatus debet esse exinde deo 30 et ecclesie amplius obligatus; quia secundum beatum Gregorium in omelia comuni, dum augentur dona, rationes eciam crescunt donorum. Et insane foret quod clerus iuste possidet ista dominia, nisi deus donaverit. Exinde temporales domini, expectando retribucionem specialem, 35 haberent diligenciores ministros eo amplius obligatos. M.

Quo supposito, arguo quod clerus ex cautela diaboli sit irrationabiliter obligatus; quia tenetur exinde continue plus spiritualis redditus solvere domino celorum

4. factis C. 6. custos A. 7. depaupertati B; *ib.* predicati A.
12. fuciat *d'est* B; *ib.* sanctis *deest* C. 16. recipere A. 18. tempo-
ribus B. 26. devorando A. 29. fucus A. 34. Et B. 35. spalem A;
spiritualem BC. 38. sic A; *ib.* quod C; *ib.* hinc B; exhinc C. 39. spual A.

25. See above, p. 231.

Et ex hinc factus indisposicior minus solvit; igitur continue currens in debito iniuriatur domino dampnificans matrem ecclesiam. Minor probatur ex hoc quod Cristus iuxta fidem plus appreciatur apostolorum pauperiem, quam diaconorum sollicitudinem; plus profecit Stephanus 85^b fidem Cristi predicando, | quam mensis ministrando; et generaliter indiscreta fuisset Cristi dispensacio qua ordinavit apostolos, relictis temporalibus, in pauperie spiritualiter ministrare ecclesie, nisi hoc foret utrinque plus utile et, plus cedens deo ad honorem, plus sibi delectabile. Nec moveat quod apostoli ministraverunt populo de multiplicato cibario per Cristi miraculum, ut dicitur Marc. Marc. 6^o et 8 et Matth. 14, et hoc ex Cristi mandato; ubi peccarent graviter, nisi, dimissa contemplacione, complerent mandatum domini; quia iuxta istam argu-
 Marc. VI, 4^t
 VIII, 6
 Matth. XIV, 19
 ciam, cum apostoli meruerunt diformiter aliter quam Cristus, sequeretur quod eque meritorium atque laudabile opus foret purgare ventrem, vel opus tale facere ad quod natura necessitat, sicut predicare vel quem-
 20 cunque actum apostolicum aut contemplacionem perficere; cum deus in casu precipit hec fieri et alia dimitti. Et si dicatur, secundum begardorum sentenciam, quod contemplacio stat cum deposicione ponderis nature, sicut cum sompno et esu, cum aliis actibus
 25 bestialibus ad quos natura necessitat, quare non cum ministerio mensarum et quacunque provisione bonorum pauperum? Cristus tamen omnisciens decrevit quod propter diminucionem actus apostolici per tales possessiones et ministraciones, apostoli illas relinquerent.
 30 Cum igitur clerus ex potestate ordinis obligatur ad tantum ministerium cum sanctis apostolis propter paritatem muneris, et non reddit deo de facto tantum ministerii laudabilis, videtur quod indebitatur sibi culpabiliter ex subtraccione tam preciosi redditus. Nec valet
 35 fingere quod nostra distribucio bonorum fortune equivalet operacioni apostolice, vel quod propter multitudinem cleri iam necesse est illi intendere, quod non oportuit tempore conversacionis apostolice. Cristus enim scivit aptare suam regulam ad totam multitudinem cleri

spiritual fruit to God, and is thereby rendered less able to return it. Christ esteemed the poverty of his Apostles more than the service of the deacons.

At the miracle of the loaves, the Apostles, it is true, served the people, but it was by Christ's command. And it does not follow that this act was as meritorious as preaching, unless every act commanded by God through the voice of nature, be equally meritorious. The Begardi said that contemplation and disburdening the body were acts on the same level; it so why not the service of tables too?

Obliged by their state to Apostolic perfection, the clergy, not rendering to God what is due, becomes heavily indebted. And Christ's rule was good

7. indisposicio A; dissensacio C. 11. utrumque C. 14. et speculatione B. 21. hec deest AB; ib. illa C. 34. precosi C.

36. oponi A. 38, 39. Cristus — regulam in margine inferiore suppl. C.

23. Stat cum. This may also mean 'is not impeded by'; and the argument is as strong in one sense as the other.

for the whole
clergy, as is
proved by the
times when it
flourished; its
ain was no doubt
to diminish
their excessive
multiude.

If Religious men
keep their rule,
how much
rather should
we keep Christ's
rule.

It is a sin for
any of the clergy
to pass
sleepless nights
out of care for
the future.

God will
provide for us
as He does for
all living;
and the same
reason
condemns the
cunning put
forth by the
Mendicants to
get money.

It is apostasy;
yet we say that
we care not,
and leave the
the morrow to
care for itself;
but our
affections prove
too well that it
is a lie.

Who would not
be downcast,
if his
possessions
were in any
way interfered
with?

III. I am said
heretically to
contradict the
decision of the

necessariam, sicut potuit per multos centenarios an-
norum, quando secta cleri plus profuit. Ideo creditur
quod ratio regule Cristi fuit nimis onerosam cleri multi-
tudinem refrenare. Si igitur privati ordines observant N.
bottas, difformitatem in sculptura et colore vestium, 5
cum voto ad penalitates corporales, quia est medicina
contra superbiam, gulam et cetera peccata, quanto
magis Cristi regula, que efficacius est peccatis contraria,
servaretur!

Et hinc creditur quod sive diaconi, sive quicunque 10
clerici pernoctant cum solitudine cure temporalium, ut
sic peccant, quia contra Cristi consilium (Matth. 6^o),
obligant se perdendo libertatem exuicionis a temporali-
bus ad superfluam solitudinem terrenorum. Deus enim
providet clero suo de temporalibus, sicut providet 15
bestiis et cunctis viventibus de cremento nature. Et
patet quomodo possessio cleri onerat ipsum, quia in-
debitat et indisponit ad retribuendum. Et eadem ratio
procedit contra calliditates cuiuscunque ordinis mendi-
cantis, cum privata obligacio tantum vel plus obligat, 20
distrahit et retardat, sicut illa que Cristus prohibet
consulendo. Et patet quod quante ab ewangelio Cristi
excidimus, vel addendo vel diminuendo, tante aposto-
tando peccamus; dicimus tamen quod sine nocturna
solitudine vel cogitatione scimus habere quotlibet 25
temporalia, sicut bona nature in manu domini, et
veniente crastino ad moderatum ministerium expergefieri,
pro crastino solicitari. Sed alia opera nostra convincunt
mendacium, cum cogitacio et affeccio ad habendum
superflue ista bona vel in actu vel in habitu patescunt 30
ex vita nostra. Quis, inquam, non tristaretur in crastino
de istorum bonorum ablacione, de usus eorum contra-
diccione, ymo de possessionis proprietarie negacione?
Sic enim possent omnia dicta in privatis ordinibus sive
papalibus observari, dicendo quod faciunt illud mini- 35
sterium deo quod tradicio humana limitat, vel sibi
equivalens. Sed certum est quod iuxta hoc quelibet
privata observancia quo ad regularitatem consequencie
deficeret, et sollicitudo adinvencionis regule superflueret.

Sed 3^o obiciunt illi qui ex predictis insaniunt, quod 40
contradico tanquam hereticus determinacioni ecclesie de

3. onerosa AC. 5. botas C. 8. est *deest* B. 11. clerici *deest* A.
19. caliditatem A. 23. vel *before* addendo *deest* C. 33. negative B.
36. secundum *pro deo* B.

- sacramentis. Sed hoc faciunt indirecte, ut infirmet
 priora que odiunt. De sacramento autem eukaristie et
 penitencie dicunt quod contradico determinacioni eccle-
 sie, ymo blasfemo in Cristum, quod ipse oneraret ec-
 5 clesiam cum celebracione sacramentorum talium sine
 causa. Hic dico, ut sepe alias, quod docto quod sit
 contraria fidei quecunque sententia quam assero, volo
 paratissime revocare. Et cum habeam evidencias ex
 fide quod ista sit sententia salvatoris, licet michi in-
 10 terim in fide tali quiescere. Et cum vocata ecclesia sit
 in secretis materiis fidei tam imprudens, difficile videtur
 fidelibus quod stent sentencie eorum in ista materia,
 quidquid decreverunt. Ideo videtur securum in expressis
 in lege dei quiescere, et novitates ac difficultates ad-
 15 iectas dimittere. Nam illa antiqua sufficiunt ad salutem;
 et novitates adiecte sunt multis ambigue atque superflue.
 Ideo orant deum superbas blasfemias satraparum destruere.
- O. Quantum ad sacramentum, altaris dictum est diffuse
 alibi, quomodo novelli ordines ydiotice et infundabiliter
 20 contradicunt; ut unus, quod sacramentum altaris sit
 agregacio accidencium sine subiecta substantia; et alius,
 86^a quod ipsum sit naturaliter et substancialiter | corpus
 Cristi, negando quod aliquod est sacramentum sensibile
 in altari. Sed signa que videmus et sanctificamus, sunt
 25 solum sacramentalia; et sic utrobique illudatur ecclesia.
 Nam doctores tam antiqui quam novi de sectis que sic
 garriunt, decretales, decreta et usus ecclesie contra-
 dicunt. Ponunt enim unum album et rotundum, quod
 ante consecracionem fuit panis, vel in pane, post eius
 30 consecracionem remanere, et illud dixerunt regulariter
 esse sacramentum. Et vulgus vere credit ipsum esse
 quoddammodo corpus Cristi. De illo autem, circa quod
 est tantus error, est nobis et aliis scolasticis difficultas.
 Scimus quidem quod corpus Cristi, eciam secundum
 35 esse naturale quod habet in celo, est sacramentum, et
 ipsum corpus virtute verborum Cristi est dictus panis,
 et eciam sacramentum; habet eciam modum spiritualem
 essendi ad omnem punctum dicti panis, et, ut sic, est
 sacramentum, et sic idem corpus sacramentat se ipsum
 40 secundum disparem modum essendi, ut sacramentum
 altaris sacramentat corpus Cristi et sanguinem, ut est

Church
 concerning the
 Sacrament; but
 this accusation
 is made on
 account of the
 two former
 points.

I am ready to
 recant at once,
 if shown my
 error; but at
 present I rest
 convinced that
 my doctrine is
 that
 of Christ; and
 the Church here
 below can
 hardly give an
 irrevocable
 decision.

It is best to use
 the terms used
 in God's law,
 and avoid
 novelties.

I have already
 been said how
 the Sects
 contradict each
 other about the
 Sacrament;
 some saying it
 is a lot of
 accidents
 without a
 substance, and
 others, that it
 is Christ's
 natural Body:
 which is
 contrary to their
 own doctors,
 the Decretal and
 Church
 customs.

And the people
 really believes
 that this 'white
 round
 somewhat'
 that was bread
 or belonging
 thereto, is now
 Christ's Body.
 Here lies the
 difficulty: We
 know that
 Christ's natural
 body is a
 Sacrament, and
 that Christ's
 Body is bread,
 having a
 spiritual mode
 of being

3. determinacioni *deest* C. 6. Protestacio *in marg.* A. 7. asserro A.
 11. misteriis C. 21. subiecta *deest* C. 28. illud *pro* album C.
 31. vulgus C. 38. et eciam BC.

everywhere in
the bread,
and the
separate
consecration of
the elements is
the figure of our
Lord's death.
But what is the
Sacrament in
its *own* nature?
I say it is the
same bread as
it was before
the miracle
makes it to be
Christ's Body
not
substantially
but
supernaturally;
for Christ's
Body is not
changed as the
bread changes,
though some
say that it
changes
symbolically.
As for the
Sacrament of
Penance, I
merely deny its
absolute, not its
relative
necessity; and I
think that the
decree of
Innocent III was
not a wise
development of
Gospel truth.
If these works
against Simony,
apostasy and
Blasphemy
(which all who
love God should
hate) contain
any errors, I ask
God's
forgiveness, and
submit to
whomsoever He
may choose to
correct me.

in celo, et disparitas confeccionum carnis et sanguinis sacramentat mortem corporis Cristi. Ac si diceret: effuso sanguine in separato loco a carne, corpus Cristi pro nobis est mortuum et exsanguie. Difficultas autem, quam solvere non audent sentencie predicte, stat in 5 quiditate predicti sacramenti in se, quid sit in sua natura. Et sepe dixi quod sit in sui natura panis idem qui prefuit, et in miraculo verborum Cristi, corpus suum; non substantialiter sed supernaturaliter. Nec videtur quod putrescit aut frangitur, licet panis ille, qui 10 est corpus Cristi taliter moveatur, sicut deitas non denominatur accidentibus quibus Cristus formatur, licet ipse sit illa deitas. Et sic, virtute unionis que est circa incarnationem, panis ille multipliciter variatur, et corpus Cristi non taliter; licet quidam dicant quod taliter 15 mutatur in symbolis. Eukaristia autem vocatur corpus Cristi concrecius quam est in suis symbolis.

Quantum ad secundum sacramentum penitencie, dictum est quod expedit et est necessarium, sed non absolute, taliter confiteri. Nec videtur michi quod lex Inno- 20 cencii 3ⁱⁱ, artans ad istam confessionem, fuit prudenter explicata, nec aliqua lex papalis vel alia post ewangelium explicata, nisi in ipso finaliter sit fundata. Et tenta ista sententia rediret ecclesia ad perfeccionem status primi, que hodie in multis varietatibus est dispersa. 25

Istam dixerim secundum donacionem et mocionem dei contra istas 3^s hereses: Symoniam, Apostasiam atque Blasfemiam, quibus deo iniuriatur per sacerdotes diversos: contra quos qui non invehit neque dolet, non diligit meritorie deum suum. Si autem in istis erravero, 30 peto humiliter a deo veniam, et submitto me correctioni et informacioni cuiuscunque creature, quam sibi placuerit ad hoc ministerium limitare. Amen.

Explicit hoc opusculum circa penthecostes sub anno domini 1432^o wstrach etc. 32

4. ex sanguine A; et exanguie C; *ib.* autem *deest* B. 5. salutare pro
salutare omnes MSS; *ib.* *fnie corr. in marg.* secte C. 8. et *deest* A.
12. prudencia C. 22. explicata BC. 24. reddi'et C. 26. donacionem
deest A. 33. After Amen Explicit tractatus de blasfemia, in large
letters in black ink B; Explicit tractatus de Blasfemia secundum Johannem
Wy. XII9 in red ink C; limitare. Utyess tye buoh = God comfort thee D.

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